

AKWESASNE NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DREAMS

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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US



No matter how much we try to explain, people who come to visit us don't know what to expect, and people who imagine how it is with us are usually wrong.

Much of the editorial work on the newspaper is done from a cabin in the Adirondack Mountains, far enough from any population center that it is a good two-hour walk to the nearest store, a tiny gas-station and grocery. Other people who keep the newspaper alive and well work from a location on the Mohawk Nation lands 40 miles away, down in the St. Lawrence River Valley. In the mountains, people live in fairly isolated houses, using wood stoves for heat and cooking, and carrying water from the stream. For the most part, we use kerosene lamps and candles for lighting, and to the extent that we can, we try to use hand tools instead of power tools, and human labor in the place of corporate energy. We like to think it is true that we try to substitute a dedication to the improvement of the conditions of human beings in the place of monetary incentive.

To the east, the mountains and valleys provide a most beautiful view. The forest is extensive, and the dawn is quiet. The fresh air, the beauty of an

early snowfall, all of these things make life here really pleasant. But to the people who will visit, let me say that life here is hard. There is hard work, and the constant mixture of visitors from a wide area and different backgrounds means a degree of personality conflict. Then there is a certain air of urgency about survival and our work in publishing, and some find that unpleasant.

That is how it is — or at least, that is how it looks here at AKWESASNE NOTES. But pretty views and quiet woods and walks to the stream to get water are not exactly what we're all about.

The primary functions of our existing here are to provide a communication service to the oppressed natural peoples of this hemisphere, and to do the very best we can to create a high level of consciousness among our readers. If we came here only to sit up in the mountains, entertain guests, and look at pine trees, we would then become profiteers, gaining from the oppressions that cause suffering in other people's lives.

We are conscious of this, and therefore, our workday begins when we rise, and for all practical purposes, it does not end until we go to bed.

We are not a self-sufficient conscious community nestled in the Adirondacks dedicated to harmonious interaction of our members, with the primary goals being our own survival and a "better life", with the newspaper something of a sideline. We are not romantic idealists and this is not Walden-Pond-in-the-mountains.

At our worst, we are a group of people who produce a periodical and books which are intended to provide a clear

and accurate portrayal of the way things really are among the natural peoples of this land. At our best, we are a group of people who publish these things, and are making an effort to integrate the principles we have discovered through our work, with the way in which we live. We are not always immediately successful at all of these things, and some people are more successful than others, but we are trying — and, I think, improving.



Right now, there is an enormous amount of work which must be done to keep this operation a going concern. Much of that work must be done by readers of the newspaper from where they are — a list of responsibilities ranging from providing money for the printers to seeing that the paper is in the local libraries is on page three. Other work has to be done here where the paper is produced.

In between gathering and sawing wood, making buildings ready for winter, and putting away the harvest from the gardens so we will have food for the cold months, there are mailing lists to file, mountains of letters to answer, articles to research and write, typesetting and layout work, and on and on, day after day after day. But somehow, the work will go on, and the paper will somehow be born and distributed.

While we could go on and on, let it be known that all things considered, we remain grateful that we are able to be here and do this work, and we are happy that we are able to serve in this way. That is how it is with us as the moon signifies the end of harvest, as the days grow short, and as the snow slowly becomes deeper.

And now that you know how it is with us, we ask: "How is it with you?"

How successfully have you been in relating your life to the movement of human beings to restore a way of life on the land in harmony with the Creation and with each other?

How successful have you been in dealing with the problems that arise when one does make such a serious effort? We hope that you, like ourselves, are learning and growing.

As always, we invite your participation in our communications effort. Only a small amount of the work is done here at Akwesasne and in the mountains. Much more is done by thousands of readers all over the world. We ask that you study out the suggestions, follow those you can, and keep us in touch with each other.



**AKWESASNE
NOTES**
WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DREAMS

ISSN: 0002-3949

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation

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telephone (518) 483-2540

PLEASE NOTE NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER!

The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be in preparation immediately, and material for publication should be here during early December, with a deadline of December 19. Funds permitting, readers should have another issue of AKWESASNE NOTES just after January 1.

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at your address label on this paper. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive UNLESS WE HEAR FROM YOU. We hope you will understand — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often, since there are no paid subscriptions to expire.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although this might be a good time to renew your support.

This month, red-labels will appear for the Carolinas, the Virginias, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee. Also for Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, and Germany.

Help Wanted



Our harvest work extended almost to the end of October, and we are still behind in our wood-cutting. Persons interested in helping us with this work of love are invited to write for information.

Regular Staff Needed Too

We really do need additional staff — a bookkeeper/business manager, graphic designers and layout people in particular. Carpenters and stone-masons and cabin-builders are also needed now to get everything set for an early spring construction start.

In considering applicants, first opportunities are given to people from Akwesasne, then other native people, and then all others.

Please — if you can help, write us and let us know. We can't fulfill our obligations to the movement and survival of native peoples without additional help.

Will We Miss You When You're Gone?

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. Going home for the summer? Let us know. If you're not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. Since 5% or so of our readers do move between issues, that would mean more than \$700 cost to us, plus the loss of 3,000 newspapers. So please — write BEFORE you move!

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH THE LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird, Kanaweienton, Susie Boots, Katsitsiakwa, Elmer, Kahratohen and Ma Boots, Sakowentetha, Medicine Story and Emmy, Jose Barriero, John & Minnie & Winupa, Andree, Boston Joe, Rainbow, Paul Sargent, Sotsisowah, Dan Coy, Edmund Francis, plus friends and helpers like Barbara, Little Dutch Boy, Wild Rice, Um Boots & Tsiokokton, Kathleen Shannon, Pickle, Roze & Jim, Rosalind, Kawisokwas, Dean and Jayne George, Peter Blue Cloud, Juan Reyna, RT Mike, Egal, John Dunbar, Jay Holbrook & Co., Nate, Mike Wolf, Allison, Vanessa Lea, Martin Duk, Priscilla, Hal Malmud, Ellen & Night Flower and many, many more.

Regarding Visitors

Because space is needed to accommodate regular staff and workcrews, particularly during the cold weather, it is difficult for us to accommodate casual visitors for long periods of time. While we will do what we can to extend hospitality, visitors should expect to relate to one of the workcrews, or to limit their visit to a night or two.

All visits should be arranged in advance.

For further information about helping with a NOTES workcrew, visiting, or filling an AKWESASNE NOTES staff position, contact:

John Mohawk
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

If you yourself cannot help, please call this notice to the attention of others, post on a bulletin board, or recopy in a newsletter. Thanks a lot!



NEEDED FOR NOTES

- maternity clothes
- used large thermal glass patio doors
- back-pack firefighting pumps
- used rugs and canvas
- used blankets & sleeping bags
- new or used warm socks & boots
- Alladin or kerosene lamps & lanterns
- zoom lens for Canon FT camera
- wood cutting gear: wedges, crosscuts, axes
- flashlights
- cast iron pots & pans, crocks
- canning jars
- tools: hammers, saws, planes, adz
- thermal longjohns, scarves, winter clothes
- a good buy or gift of a tractor
- a good buy or gift of a freezer
- table and desk electric lamps

[The staff of AKWESASNE NOTES are volunteers. Contributions to the newspaper go entirely to cover printing and postage costs. Readers' help to make the staff comfortable and efficient and capable is sincerely appreciated, since full-time staff do not have the opportunity to work privately to gain these things for themselves.]

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION ON PAGE 43

GUATEMALAN CRAFTS NOW AVAILABLE [*]



The items catalogued below have been brought from Guatemala especially for AKWESASNE NOTES, in many cases from families which depend upon us for their total cash income. We feel it is important to help in this way, and to make available to native people of North America beautiful handmade textiles to increase our own consciousness that it is possible to make beautiful things with our own energies and the gifts of the Creation.

All of these would make beautiful gifts for the Holidays, birthdays, special occasions, or for a special treat for yourselves or your homes. Some are one-of-a-kind, while others are available in quantity. However, they are available on a first-come, first-serve basis. Please indicate what we should do if your order is not in stock: make a substitute, or wait until the item is available, or return your money.

All items must be prepaid, and are sent at the prices listed, plus cost of shipping, for which you should add \$1 (we'll refund the difference). If you are not completely satisfied, you may return the item to us by insured mail or UPS for a full refund, and with no questions asked. We hope you will really enjoy these fine examples of Guatemala craftsmanship and beauty.

People who want to help Guatemalan native people through the sale of these fabrics may obtain from AKWESASNE NOTES a consignment of an assortment of items, with a value of approximately \$500. Through a coffee party, a bazaar, a special display, or other means, sales could be made, and unsold goods and the payment for those sold can be returned. While AKWESASNE NOTES has other items, such as the calendar and books, which can be obtained for resale at a discount, we are hoping people will offer to sell these items solely to aid the people of Guatemala, deducting only enough for the return postage.

Also, it is necessary that we sell these items as rapidly as possible so that the money can be sent to Guatemala with orders for more material. Shipping to and from, and time for the sale itself, ties up \$500 worth of material for almost a month. Thus we hope that people will not order a consignment of fabrics unless they feel confident that they can sell approximately half of them, or \$250. In other words, we would be unwilling to tie up this amount of money and energy to produce only a very small turnover.

If you can help in this way, notify us. We will write back immediately what date we can ship the materials to you. You may keep them one week, and then we must have unsold items and payment back by insured mail or UPS. All funds realized go to native weavers in Guatemala, or into AKWESASNE NOTES projects benefitting Guatemala native peoples.

HAIR TIES: with a variety of other uses. Long thick colorful cords with two bright yarn balls at each end. Two sizes: 16 inches long and 29 inches long. Great for braids. 50 cents for the short ones, and 75 cents for the long ones.

WOOL SHOULDER BAG: strongly woven by hand with natural black and white wool, with a shoulder strap of the same material. Bag is 15 inches wide and 15 inches high. Almost a museum piece, but it will last for years. \$20.

FABRIC FOR MEN'S SHIRT: white with red, green and blue pinstripes, and one band of brilliant wide stripes on each piece of fabric. 12 inches wide, and 84 inches long. Material is very durable and has many other uses.

WOVEN HEADBANDS, HAT BANDS: various bright colors with embroidered designs. Children could use them for a belt. 34 inches long, and about an inch wide at \$1, and 2 inches wide x 26 inches long at \$1.50.

SHOULDER BAG: made of tightly-woven heavy handmade fabric, with brightly colored bands of various designs and a strong matching shoulder strap. \$15.

REBOZO or SHAWL: warm and beautiful. They come in cotton or wool. The cotton ones are strong enough to hold an infant on a mother's back. Some are striped, some are solid colors. Specify colors preferred, and cotton or wool, and we'll do our best to fill. About 72 inches long by 24 inches wide, with large tassels at each end. Woven by hand on frame loom. \$6.

WALL HANGINGS: Typical Mayan designs of colored patterns on a solid-color background, each one different. The hangings come with the wooden sticks used in the backstrap loom, and are left as the weaver finished it. There are two sizes: 13 inches wide and 17 inches long for \$5, or 17 inches wide by 21 inches long for \$7. These are also available with two woven squares in length, or three or even seven squares long for a truly beautiful and unusual long decoration for a door, wall, or stairway. Just multiple the number of squares you would like by the above prices.

TABLE SPREAD: Blue, red, and yellow solid-color handwoven table-spreads with embroidered designs at intervals; fringed. About 15 inches wide by 48 inches long. \$6.

FABRIC FOR SEWING: multi-colored abstract design, made on frame looms by hand and foot. Good for making colorful and durable aprons, skirts, shirts, napkins, whatever. Strong enough for pillowcovering, curtains. Various sizes of bolts available, all about 36 inches wide: reds and yellows, 8 yards long, \$36; blues, 8 yards long, \$36; reds and greens, reds and yellows, blues and greens, or greens and purples, each bolt 6 yards long, \$22.

REMNANTS OF ABOVE FABRICS: each piece about one yard by one yard. Price is \$4 or \$4.50, depending on quality. Some fabrics are also brightly-colored stripes of varying widths. These small pieces good for covering pillows, small table covers, serving cloths, patchwork quilts or skirts.

SLEEVELESS PULLOVER SHIRT: for women or men, small size. Red with thin white stripes, and occasional broad green stripes. Colorfully-embroidered neckpiece. No collar. \$8.

WOMEN'S GUIPIL: a sleeveless pullover, intended to be worn over a blouse, big enough to put a nursing baby underneath. Rather short, but a yard wide. A series of designs woven into broad horizontal stripes of all colors. \$20.

TWO VERY SPECIAL ITEMS

MAYAN BLANKETS: beautiful, thick, warm blankets, made of new wool with Mayan designs. Equal in quality to fancy high-priced blankets sold in the best shops. Durable enough for a bed-roll, and yet soft enough to sleep in. These blankets are woven on a large loom, brushed with thistles, shrunk in hot volcanic streams and prepared by a Mayan family especially for AKWESASNE NOTES people. 58 x 86 inches. A bargain at \$50.

COLORFUL SASHES: Brightly-colored narrow stripes, strong enough to give real back support. Can be worn by men or women. About 6 inches wide, 50 inches long, with embroidered design and tassels at one end. Woven on back-strap loom. Very durable. \$7.

Most of the materials on this page are produced for AKWESASNE NOTES by a cooperative in a small Guatemala village. Others are purchased by Guatemalan persons working with us to extend the White Roots of Peace in their nations. These photos are of weavers associated in this project.

Orders with payment can be sent to:
Guatemalan Crafts
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540
(wholesale inquiries invited)



EMBROIDERED COLLARS & CUFFS SHIRT: made of material strong as denim, with white and colored pin stripes. The gorgeous collars are embroidered, predominately red. The shirts have a series of brightly colored stripes down the front and back. \$20.

BLACK PULLOVER SHIRT with occasional white stripes, and a beautifully-embroidered yoke in the front. A really stunning design, and the shirt will last for years. Sizes are generally about a man's small. \$10.

APRONS: really pretty and durable — these materials are made to be washed on rocks by the stream. A small size is \$2.00, and a large size is \$2.50. In varying colors.

RED STRIPED SHIRT: outrageously brilliant, with embroidered designs. Pullover, meant to be long and baggy. Would fit men's medium and large sizes. \$10.

SASH: mostly red with other colored stripes. 4 1/2 inches wide, 6 feet long, or the same design (his & hers?) 7 inches wide and 12 feet long. The small one is \$7, and the large one is \$10, all hand-woven into a tight, strong material.

MEN'S SHIRT: long-sleeves, small size but long, predominately purple with abstract design on strong fabric. Yoke of a different matching material. \$20.

SERVING CLOTHS: to go in bread baskets, or to put a centerpiece on. Elaborately embroidered. Sizes vary, such as 16 x 23 inches, 13 x 16 inches, with the smaller ones tending to have more embroidery. \$4.

MEN'S SHIRT: buttons down the front, red with colored striped fabric, and yellow tapestry-like collar, pocket and cuffs. Men's medium or large size. \$10.

MEN'S PONCHO: Red in the center, green at the edges, with some multi-colored stripes. Just an oblong fabric with a hole, reinforced, for the head. \$8.

CROCHETED BEANIES: multi-colored little caps worn by men and women, and children. \$1.

TWO-PIECE CAPES: these two pieces of matching fabrics each contain numerous small tapestry-like designs woven into a red background. The pieces can be joined partway to make a beautiful cape or combined with other plain fabrics to make other garments, such as a long skirt. Each piece is about 17 inches wide and 38 inches long. \$28 for the pair, done on a back-strap loom.

LONG FABRICS: can be used as-is for the back of couches, on long tables, tapestries, or can be cut in half and used as above for a cape or other garment. Many creative opportunities for these, done on a frame loom. 17 inches wide by about 84 inches long, \$14.

MATERIAL BLOCKS for wall hangings, garments, sewing on the backs of jackets, etc. About 24 inches wide by 40 inches long, with stripes or figures woven in profusely. Can be made into a simple brief poncho-like garment for women or children. A tremendous bargain at \$5 and \$7, depending on complexity.

Who Are The Real Terrorists ?

Washington, D.C. — An attempt by established interests to inflame bigotry and fear of native peoples in the minds of the U.S. population was attempted here in September in the U.S. Senate, and although the effort got good press coverage, the move was so blatant and patently phony that it was hard to take seriously.

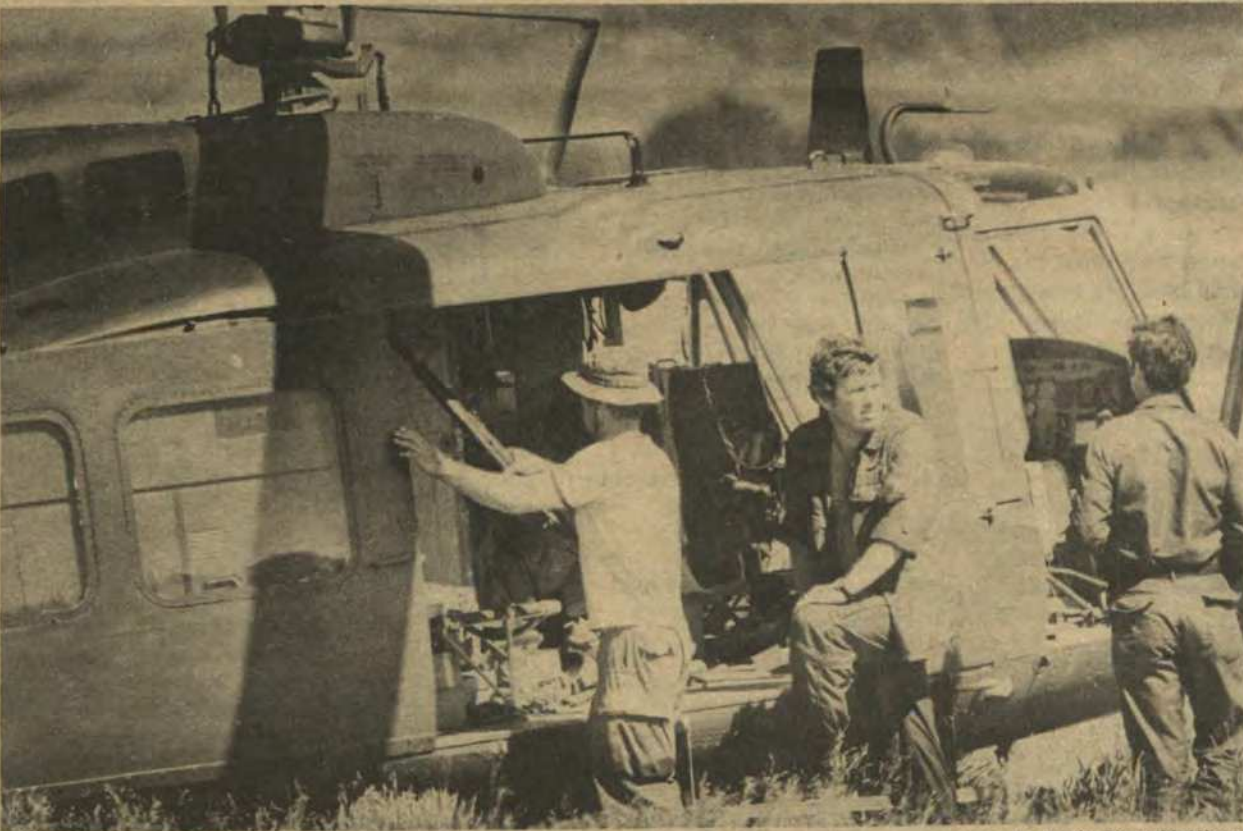
Douglass Durham, the FBI/CIA operative who finked and provocateured in the American Indian Movement for two years and whose credibility has been often impeached, was the sole witness before a closed session of the U.S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee last April, but the report was withheld, for reasons yet unknown, for release at a big press conference on September 18, by the noted Mississippi racist, Senator James Eastland.

Durham's carefully-manicured testimony tried to paint AIM as a terrorist, Communist-inspired-and-run group that is "dedicated to the violent overthrow of our Government."

AIM's main activities, Eastland reported, was running an "underground railroad" to smuggle weapons and "warriors" between Canada and the United States. "They are in cooperation with Communist groups within the U.S., Canada, Puerto Rico and Cuba," headline-happy journalists reported to the public.

The effort to tie AIM into "hostile foreign governments" is necessary to justify certain kinds of intelligence activities which would otherwise be illegal in the U.S. Thus Durham was careful to talk of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the Irish Republican Army and Cuba and China and Russia. "They have the ability to create great havoc and terror within the U.S. by guerrilla tactics," Durham told the Eastland panel.

Previous information given by Durham has proved to be remarkably incorrect. Last October, a year ago, he was going around giving speeches accusing AIM of Bicentennial disruptions — "You'll see violence on the streets like you haven't seen for years," he warned. But then, Durham was warning his John Birch audiences that AIM was really just a part of a smaller plot. As Durham explained it, the AIM disruptions would cause the public to demand federal intervention including the use of troops, which would be a threat to other freedom-loving people. Thus, the real threat of AIM, he said, was that they would cause more federal laws to be passed, gaining ever tighter control over the citizenry, eventually "helping us to death".



— photo by Kevin Barry McKiernan
Terrorism At Pine Ridge, 1975 . . . "Your FBI In Peace And War"

"They have trampled the civil rights of Indian, as well as non-Indian, citizens in the country," Durham said. If the statement is true, Durham had a great part in making it that way, for as "security chief" of AIM and Dennis Banks' personal bodyguard, Durham was in on much of the strategizing for AIM's direction.

In Canada, where McCarthyism hasn't caused people to see Communists behind every tree, the Eastland report was taken almost as a joke. Crown Attorney E.C. Burton in Kenora, Ontario, where Durham claimed a cache of weapons had been buried, pooh-poohed the idea of the secret stash. In fact, he said that when Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement, came to the 38-day occupation of Anicinabe Park in 1974, he had calmed down the potential of violence and trouble.

"The American Indian Movement does not speak for the American Indians," Eastland told the press. "It is a

CHECK ONE, CLASS — WHICH IS THE GRAVER DANGER TO DEMOCRACY?

[This editorial appeared in the Dayton Daily News on July 9, 1976.]

Today's subject, class, is the definition of the currently popular word, "terrorist."

The word has been defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. An example of a terrorist organization, according to the FBI, is the American Indian Movement, and indeed, at times, some of its members have acted as if it were.

But mainly, AIM is an organization of angry Indians who go around shouting and raising hell when they think the rights of Indians have

been violated. This is much of the time. Sometimes members of AIM break the law to attract attention — they seize buildings and places. That brings in the press and TV people, who are then used to get out the word that the Indians are angry. Occasionally, there is violence.

The FBI is an organization that over the years has broken the law in many ways, so as to protect the laws. It has burglarized places. It has written libelous and false letters to the spouses and employers of persons whose political views did

not suit the FBI. It has tapped many telephones. It has placed agents in fringe political organizations and these agents have tried to get these groups to break the law so the FBI could arrest them. It has been accused of suppressing evidence. It sent a letter to the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., that tried to blackmail him into stopping his civil rights activities and that many interpret as urging him to commit suicide.

The American Indian Movement is a terrorist organization. The FBI is not a terrorist organization. . .

Is that perfectly clear?

minority movement which, at the most, numbers several thousand followers." Conveniently, Eastland had not called any native witnesses to his hearings — Durham was the only witness upon which Eastland based his conclusions.

And Durham is known to lie. He didn't tell the Eastland hearing about how he was fired from the Des Moines police force following the death of his wife after he beat her, or his work linking CIA and organized crime interests, or other activities in prostitution and blackmail that hardly make him a model citizen. And he is known to be part of an anti-AIM conspiracy involving intelligence agencies and right-wing interests such as the John Birch Society. Durham's testimony last April came at the end of a lengthy tour of speaking engagements for Birch groups, most of which ended in Durham having to duck out to avoid answering questions from native people and their supporters who knew the details of his activities as reported at length in previous issues of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Generally, the press didn't pick up on Durham's shady past, nor did it provide any critical analysis of the Eastland conclusions. Actually, a reading of the transcript of Durham's testimony reveals many errors of fact, conclusions unsupported by evidence, and careful maneuvered tip-toeing around sensitive issues, such as

Durham who has the guts to stick his neck out to inform people exactly who the AIM people represent," Two Hawk concluded. On the basis of the Two Hawk letters, Eastland concluded that AIM had no support.

Birch Bayh, U.S. Senator from Indiana and a member of the Eastland subcommittee, wrote Mark Lane of the Citizens Committee of Inquiry, that he wanted "to make it clear I did not participate in the hearing. . . I did not take part in the drafting of the report and I did not sign the report. I could not and do not condone the manner in which the hearing was conducted and the report written. The subcommittee heard only one witness, and on the basis of the unchallenged testimony of this solitary witness, issued its report without offering an opportunity to present testimony to the numerous individuals against whom the witness made serious allegations.

"The hearing and the report seem to have had no other purpose than to discredit a number of individuals, including a sitting federal judge and the American Indian Movement," Bayh wrote. "This is totally unacceptable to me."

Lane had said that Durham was "of doubtful stability" and that Senators Eastland and Strom Thurmond have over the years "sought to deny full citizenship rights to minority groups." "One day soon," Lane hoped, "the American people will see to it that Senator Eastland's subcommittee, which continues to issue reports which attempt to subvert the concept of due process and by doing so constitutes a call to violence, will take its rightful place in the dustbin of history alongside the Alien and Sedition laws, the Dred Scott decision, the night rides of hooded men, black bodies hanging from Southern trees, and other relics of a repressive and racist past."

John Trudell, AIM's national chairman, reacted sharply to the Eastland hearing. "Racism and double standards of justice are the real threat to the Internal Security of this nation-state," Trudell said. "AIM people are just trying to survive as human beings. As for these senators calling us violent, that is an un-funny joke. These representatives of a social system that produces napalm, tactical squads, M-16s, racism, class exploitation, etc., calling us violent is the rhetoric of liars and hypocrites."

Trudell said that AIM was not "revolutionary," and that its members were only continuing the struggle as free peoples. It was "liberation" that was being sought — not revolution.

Vernon Bellecourt, AIM national field director, said Durham's allegations were "a continuation of the disruptive acts by the FBI, which many times has exploited the press." He contended the news media "tends to feel that any story coming out of the FBI or CIA has to have credibility."

The Durham/Eastland release came after a summer of fictitious reports on police teletypes about thousands of "Dog Soldiers" embarked on campaigns of violence, about assassinations of policemen and governors, and all sorts of dramatic events, none of which occurred — but the damage had been done in causing law enforcement officials to be trigger-happy against native people, and to step-up harassment.

"How would you like to be a law enforcement officer driving 60 miles up the country, leaving the road and driving 30 miles into the back country to investigate a serious crime," asks U.S. Attorney Alan Donelson. "It could be a terrifying experience," he said, noting that law enforcement officials were becoming fearful of "Indian cases".

Eastland concluded, entirely on the basis of Durham's testimony, that "AIM is a frankly revolutionary organization which is committed to violence, calls for the arming of American Indians, has cached explosives and illegally-purchased arms, plans kidnappings, and whose opponents have been eliminated in the manner of the Mafia." Worse yet, Eastland said, "Some of AIM's

the fact that most of the Government's prosecution of American Indian Movement members has resulted in losses for the U.S.

Durham said that a \$6,250 "social understanding" grant was actually used to purchase Czechoslovakian guns which were smuggled in from Canada. "They were taken across the border near Benton Harbor, Michigan," Durham confided to the subcommittee. Trouble is, Benton Harbor is in southwest Michigan, far from any border.

Also, in order to "document" Durham's claim that AIM didn't have any roots in the Indian community, Eastland included in the record letters from Webster Two Hawk, former head of the Rosebud Tribal Council, and active as a government yes-man in the now defunct U.S. creation, the National Tribal Chairman's Association. "I refuse to call them Indians," he wrote of AIM. "I am glad there is someone like Mr.

leaders and associates have visited Castro Cuba and/or openly consider themselves Marxist-Leninist."

Eastland scored the press for not seeking out the views of "legitimate leaders" of the American Indian peoples, and giving coverage to AIM, an accusation which, regrettably, any collection of clippings from U.S. newspapers will show to be untrue. Eastland claimed that AIM had been financed by "Federal funds", and he chastized "the supine attitude of government officials" who had not stood up to AIM. Also coming in for Eastland attack was U.S. Judge Fred Nichol, who in 1974 dismissed the charges against AIM leaders Russell Means and Banks.

FBI misconduct with native peoples has become so blatant that on May 10, 1976, Arthur S. Fleming, chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, wrote the U.S. Attorney General to demand an investigation of improper and illegal activities by the FBI at Pine Ridge. "Because of the manner in which FBI agents allegedly handled the recent murders of Anna Mae Aquash and Byron DeSesa, along with the record of an extra-ordinary number of unresolved homicides and incidents of terror and violence which have become unfortunately commonplace, the sentiment prevails that life is cheap on the Pine Ridge Reservation," Fleming wrote.

As Corky Gonzalez of the Crusade for Justice said in Denver about his lawsuit against numerous federal officials for targeting him in a scare-raising coast-to-coast alert, "It is our firm belief that we are the targets of a massive national and international conspiracy to destroy our credibility, our effectiveness, in organizing and educating the people. We intend to use every legal means to expose the illegal intelligence operation in this country and put the real criminals in the spotlight of public opinion. Those persons and agencies that serve repressive forces are the real monsters who would have you believe that any people struggling for

kenzie Valley Pipeline, of which the U.S. is the main beneficiary, as the center of subversive activity, replete with mysterious island hideouts, secret radio contacts, arsenals and airplanes.

George Erasmus, president of the NWT Indian Brotherhood, succinctly dismissed Durham's story as "bullshit". In politer language, the local Mounties said the same thing.

In a separate interview, Durham told *The Rising Tide*, a "freedom" newspaper, that U.S. people must remain vigilant against the AIM threat. "They can go into side groups, form another group, give it different name like, maybe, 'American Solidarity Committee' or something like that, and nobody can keep an eye on them."

"I don't trust anybody," says Devalon Small Legs of Alberta. "We know there are leaks, but we can't put our finger on them, and we know that the CIA is involved." The "leaks" don't involve illegal activities — just the sort of tidbits of information that reveal strategies or which can be used to disrupt and destroy.

Why in Canada? Because it is there that the important Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is scheduled for construction — the most ambitious project in all of Canada's history — but one designed to bring energy into the United States.

The Infernal Security of the United Snakes

A reading of the activities of FBI, CIA and police activities in the U.S. in recent years would indicate that anyone worried about the "internal security" of the U.S. should be far more concerned about law enforcement officials than the American Indian Movement.

CIA director William Colby admitted that for 20 years, intelligence agents had been reading the mail, contrary



against the SWP has been in the millions of dollars. At the same time, though, the SWP was victimized by violence and illegal actions, most of which went unprosecuted.

As the Los Angeles Times quipped, "Never had so many been assigned to watch over so few for so long with such minimal results." The editorial charged that the FBI had for years acted "as a political policeman over a group of Americans who were exercising their rights of citizenship within the law."

When FBI agent Joseph Furrer was called to testify in the suit, he invoked his Fifth Amendment Constitutional privilege against self-incrimination over 80 times. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa had to order him to answer even such basic questions as whether he worked for the FBI.

The FBI is not the only outfit in the burglary business. Business executives of some of the U.S.' leading corporations, and political supporters of presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, supplied funds for a six-year string of burglaries of California political, labor, and citizens' groups. The burglaries were carried out with the full knowledge and assistance of both the FBI and the CIA, and the cooperation of a number of local enforcement agencies.

FBI informers have been assigned to steal documents, disrupt activities, incite violence, and sow discord. FBI documents show that informers are "advised to continue to question the loyalty of other members at every opportunity." This tactic allows the FBI to generate confusion, fear, and distrust.

The CIA has promised not to go out collecting intelligence information from U.S. clergymen and missionaries, but it will continue to use foreign clergy, and it will be happy to accept any information U.S. clergy wishes to offer. White House counsel Philip Buchen has described the use of missionaries, many of whom work with native peoples, as "valuable sources of intelligence." One "pastor" in a Third World country was used by the CIA as a "principal agent" to carry out covert action projects, to pass on CIA propaganda to the local press, to recruit other informers. For over ten years, the CIA paid the pastor a salary over \$11,000 annually.

Then there is the report by the U.S. General Accounting Office, which surveyed FBI field offices in six major cities and discovered that almost all of the cases taken on by the FBI appeared to be a waste of time. Over 91% of the cases handled were closed either by the FBI or the U.S. Attorney's office without any prosecution. In addition, the GAO took a close look at a sample of the FBI's statistical report of accomplishments, such as the number of crimes solved and the number of drug arrests. The GAO found that at least one-third of the statistics amounted to false claims. Representative Don Edwards, who requested the study, said the FBI was "fooling themselves and fooling the people."

Other FBI activities included the burning of automobiles, roughing up of activists, illegal wiretapping, and other forms of harassment.

The FBI also has been revealed to have had "friends" in the press to publish derogatory information the FBI wanted released about targeted individuals and groups to disrupt their activities.

FBI agents in the Ku Klux Klan have helped plan and execute terrorist activities, including murder, under the guise of gathering intelligence — but the agency made no effort to prevent the Klan's actions.

The FBI spied on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] for twenty-five years. The FBI had also infiltrated and disrupted the National Urban League, and every Black student union in the country. The Senate Report said that the NAACP had been engaged in "wholly lawful political activity".

In San Diego, an FBI informer accompanied a right-wing terrorist when he attempted to assassinate radical professor Peter Bohmer and Paula Tharp in 1972, and then his FBI boss, Steve Christiansen, suppressed the

(continued on next page)



"How many times do I have to explain, Henderson? There are good guys and there are bad guys and no matter how it looks, we're still the good guys!"

liberation and self-determination are a menace to democracy and a free society."

This was not the first time that the native people of North America have been deemed to have "Communist connections." When the Indian Reorganization Act came in during the 1930s, the Dies Committee, an ancestor of the Eastland committee, promoted testimony by Alice Lee Jemison, a Seneca, that Indians were receiving Communist propaganda through the Department of the Interior, then headed by Secretary Harold L. Ickes. It was also charged that lawyers associated with the American Civil Liberties Union — which the Dies Committee considered as "closely Communist-affiliated" had pushed the IRA through to deprive Indians of the right to be owners of private property, protection of state law, and other steps which at least somewhat strengthened tribal controls. Right wing interests charged the IRA was "pure totalitarianism, Communist style".

Right wing historians today claim that this 1934 activity explains "why so many Indians are willing to follow the Communists today." Actually, it has been the American Indian Movement which has challenged the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act more seriously than most other movements.

The Durham testimony raised concern within Canada of citizens bothered that foreign agents — agents of the U.S. FBI — entered Canada to spy and cause disruption of legitimate social movements.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have announced that it considers the "red power" movement Canada's "principal threat to stability". Durham played that up, by citing the Northwest Territories, where the Mac-

to U.S. law, of various U.S. citizens, as one example of a lapse of "internal security". Or there is the Postal Service revelation that in just the last two years, more than 8500 mail surveillances had been conducted by agencies ranging from the Department of Agriculture to state welfare boards.

Or understand what it means that the CIA was a silent partner in nearly half the international grants of the major foundations — Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie.

Or that the CIA has secretly financed and had published 1,250 books by professors in a hundred U.S. colleges and universities to be used for propaganda purposes. Both U.S. and foreign journalists are on the CIA payroll, and in addition, the CIA runs two news services in Europe that are used by U.S. newspapers. Who knows what newspaper, book, lecture, or television shows are CIA financed? No one knows.

Or there is the CIA admission that it has burglarized U.S. citizens living abroad, just as the FBI has burglarized offices and homes in the U.S. The Socialist Workers Party, a non-violent legal political party seeking to elect socialist officials to government posts, has a multi-million-dollar lawsuit against U.S. intelligence agencies for harassment over several decades.

The SWP suit forced an admission from CIA director George Bush that agency files show that conversations of SWP members have been overheard through the use of electronic surveillance.

The FBI was forced to admit that it had used 1,616 informers to spy on legal political activities of the party, which has only 2500 members. All of the surveillance has failed to turn up one instance of illegal or violent activity. The cost of the FBI campaign



evidence of the assault by hiding the hit gun under a couch in his home. In fact, the FBI had supplied their informer, Howard Godfrey, with almost \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives. Even after this plot became publicly known, another FBI informer, John Rasperry, tried to get Bohmer to buy several M-16 rifles and repeatedly opened and read Bohmer's mail. Rasperry told a San Diego television station, after his exposure, that he would have killed Bohmer if the FBI had supplied him the plan and the weapon, since the agency had told him Bohmer had to be "eliminated". As Carl Rowan, the noted Black columnist points out, the FBI is so geared up for "gang-buster crime", that the "crimes most likely to destroy the society are those perpetrated not in ghetto streets, but in the White House, judges' chambers, corporate boardrooms and the hangouts of labor leaders." These types of criminals are the most "insidious, pernicious force in America today," Rowan wrote. "There has never been a period in this nation's history when so many of its lawmakers were convicted of felonies."

That mentality of FBI statistical reports on the numbers of burglars arrested across the land affects the ordinary U.S. citizen — "We Americans rant and rail over penny-ante food stamp abuses while millions of us get royally ripped off daily by gigantic consumer frauds. Price-fixings, investment swindles and myriad seemingly 'legitimate' schemes rob millions of poor people while attention is diverted by politicians screaming about welfare frauds," Rowan says. The Eastland committee's findings could go in the same category of diversion.

All of this has left Clarence Kelley, now FBI director, to be embarrassed day after day. He has no sooner finished apologizing or denying illegal activity, than there is a fresh revelation that makes him seem to be lying. But Kelley has now publicly admitted that he has been lied to by his own subordinates, who have been so skillful in their cover-up, that Kelley, the head G-man, says he is unable to find out who has been fibbing to him. Nonetheless, Kelley, with a straight face, maintains in his public speeches that "The principles of integrity that have been the FBI's hallmark throughout its existence remain solidly intact."

Kelley fired his top assistant for wrongdoing, and appointed as his associate director Richard G. Held. However, Held has long been known by native activists and others as responsible for disruptive counter-intelligence tactics in the Minneapolis area.

The U.S. Senate's Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect To Intelligence Activities said after an investigation much more thorough than Senator Eastland's mockery, "This report does demonstrate that the chief investigative branch of the Federal Government, which was charged by law with investigating crimes and preventing criminal conduct, itself engaged in lawless tactics and responded to deep-seated social problems by fomenting violence and unrest."

In fact, according to the Senate Report, the FBI and other intelligence agencies carried out the same kind of sinister and often brutal counterintelligence activities against perfectly legal organizations and individuals that are generally reserved for "hostile foreign governments".

While the CIA has used the Cold War McCarthyism fears of Communism as a justification for its activities, in fact, with the exception of Fidel Castro, the assassination plots which the CIA has been involved in did not involve Communists. The assassinations were designed as counterinsurgency and counter-revolutionary tactics. Thus the current attacks upon groups like the American Indian Movement represent another foreign war brought home: the fighting of nationalist and popular movements, all to make the world safe for U.S. corporate interests. As native peoples begin to stand up for their dignity and their rights, they become more difficult to exploit — and in the U.S. and Canada, the native people presently control some very valuable assets which corporate interests want to exploit.

The Senate Report said that the FBI had kept files on 500,000 people in the U.S. solely for their political views. First-class letters had been steamed open by

tea-kettles in FBI back rooms, and "millions of private telegrams sent from or to or through the U.S. were read by the National Security Agency." In addition, "an estimated 100,000 Americans were the subjects of U.S. Army Intelligence files," and 11,000 more had political dossiers made on them by the Internal Revenue Service.

But perhaps the most damning portion of the findings was the plot to destroy Martin Luther King, Jr. A high-level FBI memo characterized King as "the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country." According to the Senate Committee, the FBI decided to "take him off his pedestal, reduce him completely in influence" and select and promote its own candidate to "assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people".

King was especially targeted by J. Edgar Hoover, and became the subject of a campaign which included planting news stories to discredit King, threatening of those who made financial contributions to his efforts, carrying out extensive illegal surveillance on his activities, and at one point, trying to push him into committing suicide.

Early in 1968, the FBI headquarters explained to field offices that King "must be destroyed", the Senate Report says. "No holds were barred." King was assassinated in April of 1968.

By July, 1969, the Black Panther Party had become the "primary focus" of a vicious counterintelligence program known as COINTELPRO. It began with efforts against King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and other smaller civil rights groups, but quickly shifted to the Black Panther Party because that organization marshalled thousands of Black and poor people in urban areas into well-organized well-disciplined units.

Important in understanding the Eastland-Durham connection is the goal of the FBI, as outlined by J. Edgar Hoover, "to undermine the support of the Black Panther Party and to destroy the Party's public image. One activity of the Panthers was to give free breakfasts to needy children. Hoover said in secret memos that this free breakfast program "represents the best and most influential activity going for the Black Panther Party and as such, is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities to neutralize the Black Panther Party and destroy what it stands for."

A concentrated effort was made by the FBI to hinder the circulation of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, the Panther newspaper. The distribution manager was assassinated, chemical bombs were placed in the printing plant, and the FBI saw to it that newspapers were routed to far-off places to delay delivery.

Persons who were active in support of the Black Panther Party had rumors circulated about them that they were informers. AKWESASNE NOTES regularly receives such anonymous letters, urging it to print information that individuals supporting AIM are informers.

Just as the Eastland report was designed for the media, so did the FBI influence newspaper and TV reporters and commentators to develop media attacks on the Black Panthers, and in secret memos, the FBI claimed credit time after time for having caused false statements to be circulated and published.



The FBI tried to promote violence between the Black Panthers and well-armed potentially violent organizations such as the Minutemen, KKK, Mafia, and rival black organizations. Rumors were placed and letters sent to stir up hatred between the two groups. Only recently, AKWESASNE NOTES received hate letters from the KKK designed to stir up hatred between native people and white people — but the KKK leader whose name was signed to the letters denied sending them and blamed agents for the scurrilous notes.

Agents who infiltrated the Black Panther Party attempted to play up factionalism and personality conflicts to promote internal dissension. Attempts were made to break up marriages and personal relationships.

Hoover ordered his agents to prevent black groups from uniting because "in unity there is strength." He ordered agents to prevent the groups from "gaining respectability" by discrediting their activities. "You must discredit these groups and individuals, first to the

responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the White community, both the responsible community and to 'liberals' who have vestiges of sympathy for militant Black nationalists simply because they are Negroes. Third these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movements."

The Durham appearance before the Eastland Committee was designed to fulfill these goals. Hoover also said that agents should work to "prevent long-range growth of militant Black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed."

Under the FBI-coordinated program, murderous police raids were carried out against Panther offices in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Toledo, New Orleans, Indianapolis, Denver, Des Moines, New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles, to mention a few. More than 20 members of the Black Panther Party were shot down or jailed on framed-up charges in just one four-week period during September and October, 1970.

Direct FBI involvement in the assassination of Fred Hampton in Chicago, now being documented in a \$47-million lawsuit, has opened the door to FBI involvement in the nearly 40 murders of Black Panther Party members committed under shady and unresolved conditions, as well as the vicious assassination attempts, attacks, and frame-up charges that have forced Huey P. Newton, a leading member of the Black Panther Party, into temporary exile out of the U.S. Tragically, many organizations and individuals throughout the U.S. were damaged beyond repair or destroyed by the U.S. campaign, which continues today. The maneuvers which proved successful with the Panthers are now being used against the American Indian Movement. However, the Black Panther Party was not destroyed, perhaps because of its deep roots in the Black and poor community, just as AIM seems to be weathering the Eastland attack well.

The Senate Report on Intelligence documents how the FBI influenced local law enforcement agencies to wage a war of harassment on the programs and general operations of the Black Panthers, just as there is obvious collaboration and incitement now by local authorities to destroy AIM. These federal sanctions of violence against the Black Panthers led the more fanatic of local police to an unprecedented reign of terror. In the words of sworn testimony of former Los Angeles police informer Louis Tackwood, "During this period, the police were shooting Panthers left and right, in cars or wherever they could catch them. They were shooting them down as fast as they could find them, and the verdict would always be 'justifiable homicide'."

Tackwood stunned the San Quentin 6 trial in recent days with electrifying testimony that for over two years, he personally participated in a conspiracy of law-enforcement officials to assassinate leading members of the Black Panther Party.

That view was substantiated in a recent survey done by a University of Washington researcher. Arthur Kobler checked out 1500 instances where civilians have been killed by police in recent years, and found that only three cases, or one-fifth of one percent, resulted in criminal punishment of the officers. Dr. Kobler says that about 60% of these killings occurred under "questionable" conditions. 57% of those killed were involved either in no crime at all, in misdemeanors, or in crimes against property. At least 25% had no weapons of any kind. One-third were shot in the head, one-quarter hit in the back — mostly the younger and black victims. Apparently, there has been some success in creating an atmosphere where police can shoot civilians with virtual immunity from punishment.

The Senate Report documents not only numerous lies by government officials to their people, but the institutionalizing of lying and other deceptive practices by the FBI and other agencies to cover up official lawlessness which has been encouraged by high officials in the name of national security.

Another federal agency which has been involved in Indian arrests has been the U.S. Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which is now conducting an anti-Indian grand jury in Oklahoma. Recently, the main prosecution witness in the 1972 trial against Rev. Ben Chavis, eight Black high school students and a white mother sentenced to a total of 282 years for charges stemming from their defense of a church in Wilmington, North Carolina, which was under armed attack by racist fanatics during school desegregation efforts in 1971, has filed an affidavit that he lied. He admitted that he did not know the defendants, did not see them at the scene of the fire, did not hear Chavis order the burning of a store — although it was his testimony to these things which led to their conviction. He said that he was coerced and misled into giving that testimony, and that the Treasury Department agents told him how to make Molotov cocktails and showed him what dynamite and blasting caps were so his testimony could be credible. Other police rehearsed him in identifications.

The AFT also infiltrated a Massachusetts labor movement, then advocated that strikers use explosive, and in

the process, entrapped the strike leaders by giving them toilet paper tubes filled with gun powder. It was the informer, a man named O'Reilly, who "repeatedly urged the use of explosives and initiated many conversations for this purpose," one of the leaders who was charged reported.

One intelligence network linking more than 225 U.S. and Canadian law enforcement agencies operates completely independently of all government control. George O'Toole, a former intelligence specialist for the CIA, in a copyrighted article in *Penthouse* magazine, says this network, the "Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit" was set up secretly in 1957 by police departments which believed the FBI was not cracking down hard enough on organized crime. As a private agency, its files are immune to Freedom of Information Act demands of a person to see his file. Douglass Durham has done work for the network, which is linked to the CIA itself.

It was the CIA who has trained officers from police department across the country how to crack safes and conduct burglary and bugging operations. In fact, it was Durham who had this kind of training, and who worked within LEIU to apply his skills for various midwestern police departments.

The LEIU organization has 200 member units with 8,700 agents who spend almost half of their time on political surveillance.

Some of the police training was supplied by a CIA-linked company called Anacapa Sciences, Incorporated. The California State Justice Department contracted for \$150,000 worth of "anti-terrorist training" for state police officers. Intelligence officers in Florida, Michigan, and Texas are known to have undergone similar training. According to the Fifth State, a research group which monitors U.S. intelligence activities, this is all a part of the militarization of domestic police in the U.S. "They're tied into the whole domestic counter-insurgency movement and the militarization of police forces, including SWAT teams and red squads. It's all part of the plan to 'bring the war home' under Operation Garden Plot."

Crow Dog's Paradise: Burned Out

Leonard Crow Dog is still in prison — in the U.S. Penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana.

In September, a delegation of friends and lawyers went to Richmond, Virginia, for a hearing before Judge Robert Merhige. Among those who came was Vine Deloria, Jr. The massive support for Crow Dog from around the world had its effect. Judge Merhige smiled as he pointed to stacks of affidavits and letters, and he made a little joke about people writing from 5,000 miles away who had never seen a North American native person in all their life.

But Merhige rescinded Crow Dog's prison sentence, and ordered his immediate release. The U.S. Government, represented by R.D. Hurd, the U.S. Attorney whose

Hurd always makes such a good target for a competent attorney like Ken Tilsen. Hurd was in a new dazzling outfit with metallic gold-stripes, complete with cowboy boots. He had also shaved off his beard. Tilsen put Hurd in his place, and the jubilant delegation fully expected Crow Dog to be released in a few days.

Another hearing was held before Judge Edward McManus, who had indicated he would go along with Merhige. What he did, however, was reduce Crow Dog's sentence for allegedly "interfering with postal inspectors" from 8 to 3 years, and recommended that he be paroled immediately.

But the U.S. was determined to keep the Lakota medicine man behind bars. Although a parole board hearing is scheduled for December 10, the judge's recommendation for immediate release has not been heeded.

The cruelest thing, though, did not happen in the courtroom, nor in the prison. In the late hours of a mid-November night, the home of Henry and Mary Gertrude Crow Dog, Leonard's parents, was torched by an unknown arsonist.

The job was thorough, and in a matter of moments, the whole roof was ablaze. The first indication of the fire that Leonard's mother, who is over 80 years of age, had of the fire was when the burning roof began to cave in on her bed. She ran to a small cabin next door where Leonard's wife, Mary, and her children were sleeping. The younger woman brushed out the flames on her mother-in-law's nightgown, and the pair listened to the noise of a car driving off into the night.

By then, the house was all but gone. The only thing that Mary Gertrude Crow Dog was able to save was a Sacred Pipe.

"This is where seven generations of my family have lived," Crow Dog said from prison, upon hearing of the fire. "I cannot help my family to save anything. I can only watch the bars. But even here in my prison cell, I can feel my Grandfather's heartbeat and hear the echo of the drums. I'm behind bars, but not my spirit."

Another Lakota holy man, Fools Crow, had been burned out a few years ago, after Wounded Knee. Arsonists have also tried to burn out other supporters of the American Indian Movement both at Rosebud and Pine Ridge.

Richard Erdoes, a long-time friend of the Crow Dogs, has started a fund to help the Crow Dog Family buy clothing, bedding, and other necessities and hopefully, to help them build a new house next spring. The address of the fund:

Crow Dog Family Fund
c/o Richard Erdoes
110 Vigil Lane
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

But The Legal Battles Continue On

If it hasn't already become apparent, the most recent move of the FBI should make its vindictiveness clear. As soon as Dino Butler and Bob Robideaux were found innocent in Cedar Rapids, the FBI charged them with trying to escape from the county jail in which they were held. Also charged were Kenny Kane and Alonzo Bush. Although the cells always had six to eight persons, only these were accused.

To support the case, the FBI came up with almost 200 pieces of evidence such as hacksaw blades which it said the group had planned to use. The scenario laid out in the complaint fits very closely to the plot outlined by fellow-prisoner James Harper. However, Harper has now admitted that he lied in court, but rather unsuccessfully. The foreman of the jury said after the trial, "Not one of us believed him."

Butler will soon come to trial on the escape charge, but Robideaux, who is in custody on other charges, will not be prosecuted at this time.

Harper is bringing a suit against Robert Sigma, the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted the Butler-Robideaux case. Harper alleges that Sigma has reneged on a deal that if Harper would give false testimony which would implicate Butler and Robideaux in the FBI slayings, Sigma would see that other charges pending against Harper would be dropped — and Harper seemingly has reliable witnesses to the offer.

Carter Camp was released after winning his appeal on his Wounded Knee conviction, but the U.S. re-indicted him again immediately and he will be tried once more.

The United States Government is still after Dennis Banks, and has taken the dismissal of charges against him to the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The charges say that Banks and five others were transporting explosives and firearms in Oregon. Judge Robert Belloni had thrown the case out of court when the U.S. said it couldn't produce the evidence in court because it had destroyed it "for safety"

Leonard Peltier Awaits Ministerial Verdict

For ten months now, Leonard Peltier has been in solitary confinement in a small Death Row cell in the



Oakalla Prison in British Columbia. When he is taken to court appearances or anyplace out of his cell, he is shackled hand and foot and accompanied by heavily-armed guards.

Peltier is not Canada's most infamous mass murderer — in fact, he has never been convicted of any crime. He has never been in jail before. There are not even charges against him, nor arrest warrants out for him anywhere in Canada.

Peltier has been held in Canada on allegations that in the United States, he killed the two FBI agents who died at Oglala on Pine Ridge Lakota nation lands on June 26, 1975. Immediately following the shoot-out, the FBI put out arrest warrants on four native men: Robert Roubideaux, Dino Butler, Jimmy Eagle and Peltier. But last July 16, Roubideaux and Butler were acquitted of all charges against them by an all-white jury in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, which seemed to hold the FBI accountable for its misdeeds. The charges against Jimmy Eagle were dropped a short time later.

Only Peltier is left — the FBI's last chance of gaining a conviction for the death of two of its agents.

Across Canada, pressure and support groups have made him the nation's most widely-known political prisoner. Rallies in his support are common in Vancouver or Edmonton, or on Parliament Hill. Native people across the land have rallied solidly behind Peltier, whose defense committee operates out of the Vancouver Indian Center.

Judge W.A. Schultz ordered Peltier extradited to South Dakota last June 18. That decision was immediately appealed to the Canadian Supreme Court, which is expected to issue a judgment any day. Even if the Supreme Court rules against him, Peltier can still appeal to the Minister of Justice, Ron Basford.

On October 30, there was a large rally in front of the Canadian Consulate in New York City, meaning that U.S. citizens were telling Canada not to give in to the demands of the U.S. Government, which must set some sort of diplomatic precedent.

Letters and telegrams supporting Peltier and urging that he be allowed to remain in Canada should be sent to:

Minister of Justice Ron Basford
House of Commons
Ottawa, Canada

Support can be offered to:
Peltier Defense Committee
1855 Vine St.
Vancouver, British Columbia V6K 3J8

Another case coming up soon is the suit Jack Schwartz, an attorney for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee in Rapid City, filed against FBI agents David Price, Norman Ziggori, Gary Adams, Larry Gallagher and four others whose names are not known. The suit was filed in state of South Dakota Circuit Court concerning an October 4, 1975, incident.

The agents came to the legal offices used by Wounded Knee attorneys, and where materials and documents were kept concerning pending cases. Although they had no search warrant, they claimed to be searching for a fugitive. The suit seeks damages for trespass, invasion of privacy, false imprisonment, intentional infliction of mental distress, and for conspiracy to deprive another of constitutionally protected rights.

A group of attorneys and investigators involved in defending minority peoples against illegal intelligence activities are available for speaking engagements to inform people of what is going on in their government. They are Flint Taylor and Bill Hampton who have been involved in revealing the FBI conspiracy to cause the death of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago, and Lew Gurwitz, Roger Finzel and Jack Schwartz, who have been active in Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee and American Indian Movement defense. Further information can be obtained by contacting PEPIC, 1341 Connecticut Ave., NW (3rd floor), Washington, D.C. 20036 or telephone (202) 296-6729.



— photo by Kevin Barry McKiernan
FBI at Pine Ridge . . . Armed and Dangerous

conduct in the St. Paul trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks brought him notoriety, vigorously protested the sentence reduction, shouting that Crow Dog had been sentenced for armed robbery at Wounded Knee, and that a Senate Subcommittee had found AIM a subversive revolutionary organization.

Judge Finds Murder Trial Humorous

Ventura, California

Several hundred people, well-dressed and flushed with an evening of food and drinking, sit at dinner tables in the banquet hall of a private club, laughing, clapping, and watching a skit on a stage before them.

There, a white man is dressed as a comical Indian in a Halloween mask. He is identified as Tonto, Indian defendant in some kind of trial in the year 1985. That comical Indian Tonto is making motion number 2,001 in his stupidly primitive efforts to stall the workings of justice. He moves for mistrial on grounds that the gavel the white-bearded judge is using was made by a company which polluted Lake Erie, wiping out the means of livelihood for nearby Indian people, and therefore the gavel, the company and the judge are connected in discrimination against the defendant, an Iroquois-Chippewa Tonto.

"Motion denied!" says the judge. The banquet room rocks with huge applause and laughter. The prosecutor jumps with joy while calling the Lone Ranger as his next witness. The judge complains he is tired of having his courtroom filled with "braves and squaws." But then the cast, including Tonto, sings a rousing finale, about how they want to have the trial continue forever, "because we're having so much fun, oompahpah."

And so came to the end the annual entertainment "Hijinks" of the Ventura County Bar Association.

Far from the sound of the applause, in the modern Ventura County jailhouse, two men are sitting, discussing their trial. If they lose, they could go to the gas chamber.

They are native men, Paul Durant Skyhorse, a Minnesota Chippewa, and Richard Billings Mohawk, an Iroquois, who have been fighting for their lives for two years now.

Their case is being heard by Judge Marvin Lewis. At the private club, Marvin Lewis was sitting in the front row, laughing and clapping. Later, he was to apologize in court for this, sort of an aside as he ruled against several motions of the defendants.

There it was — the Ventura County Bar Association, sitting there with its wives and mistresses laughing at two Indian men's desperate attempts to ward off judicial murder in a case which has been full of intrigue, informers, payoffs, and every indication the two men are being framed. The Bar Association consists of all the judges, prosecutors, Public Defenders, defense attorneys, and "money lawyers" in Ventura County. In addition, members of the County Board, which has been bitterly complaining of the costs of the "overly-prolonged trial" are present.

The laughter — just a good time, you know — is coming from The Law in Ventura County, not the deputies and patrolmen who are often so quick with clubs, gas or guns, but from the magistrates and counsel who supposedly uphold the noble ideals of "justice". Far more than the cop on the street or the deputy in the hills, these people are The Law.

The skit was the idea of local attorney Stephen V. Perren, who wrote the skit. Perren knows about the Skyhorse-Mohawk case — he was hired by Holly Broussard's wealthy father, and negotiated an unusual immunity agreement for this rich little white girl, in which she escapes all consequences for her participation in the slaying of cab driver George Aird and the hijack of his cab, in exchange for her testimony against Skyhorse and Mohawk, who had been active American Indian Movement organizers from Chicago. Marvin Red Shirt, her 1974 boyfriend and present husband, she says, got a similar deal.

Ventura County is racism in America. The town of Ventura, where the trial is taking place, is a wealthy seacoast resort where the lesser image-makers from Hollywood's factories relax. While the pages of AKWESASNE NOTES have been filled with chronicles of the racism which still exists in cruder form in the wild-west atmosphere of South Dakota, or among the small farmers of John Birch country in rural Wisconsin, Ventura's racism occurs in a city where the big money and power live.

Racism in Ventura County is not gun-toting little rednecks. It is callously sophisticated and takes form in such manifestations as the Bar Association's "Hijinks".

Ventura County? Like South Dakota, it is full of "ranches" — but these are factory farms for lemons, oranges, walnuts. Lemonaria, Inc., the world's largest citrus grower, owns everything and everybody, almost. The Teague family, of California's landed aristocracy, owns Lemonaria. The Chicano brothers and sisters who work at peon wages in Ventura County recognize the

racism that Skyhorse and Mohawk have met, and they have been helpful and supportive in the trial.

Ventura County is also the dope capital — one of the main west-coast ports of entry for heroin and big shipments of grass for the organized crime boys. It comes in by boat via the Channel Islands, just off the Ventura-Oxnard coast, and it comes in by planes landing in back-country airstrips. Big Dope and Organized Crime usually means crooked cops and crooked higher-ups and politicians on the take.

So much for the asides. These geographic, economic and political notes just help to explain who these people are who are entertained by laughing at two Indian men's efforts to expose their frame-up to avoid the gas chamber.

A delegation including Chicanos, a few whites, and yes, some male and female Tontos, came to the Bar Association meeting and politely requested entrance of the riot-equipped guard at the door so that they might view the play.

Native people meet with the Drum to support Skyhorse and Mohawk, and to protest against racism in The Law in Ventura County.



They didn't get in, but one native person was inside. She was Sharon Sperling, a Cherokee educator who serves on the board of the Los Angeles Indian Education Commission. After the skit's grand finale, she rose to say a few words: "I have two brothers up in Ventura County jail who are fighting for their lives and you are making fun of it. They are not laughing. You should be ashamed for yourselves," she said in a soft voice before she walked out in tears.

Afterwards, a Chicano law student had a brief conversation with attorney/actor Steven Perren. Perren complained that "you people with your tom-toms talk about civil rights, but you are interfering with my civil rights to put on my skit and have a private entertainment." True, Perren does play his role well. He had been able to get his client, Holly Broussard, off of all charges, although she was arrested at the scene of the crime with blood on her clothing and gloves and her boots, with the driver's keys and a bloody knife in her pants pockets, rimmed with blood from her hands.

"Oompahpah, Tonto don't want the Trial to End 'Cause We're Having so much Fun."

This delegation of native people were termed by Bar Association officials as a "shaggy band of vagabonds" as they protested outside a swank club where judges and lawyers were laughing about native people seeking justice in the courts.



Since their arrest October 17, 1974, in Arizona, Skyhorse and Mohawk have suffered a lot in Ventura and Oxnard jails and in the courts. "Many men are broken by what goes on in these jails," Mohawk says. "The purpose of it is to dehumanize you — you have to fight all the way, all the time. If you go along with it, you're lost."

"We had no one to help us; no one believed us," Skyhorse says. "We had only our own strength to rely on. We have learned a lot. Things are starting to move

for us now. We will come out of this stronger than when we went in, ready to help our brothers and sisters."

During the first year of incarceration, Skyhorse was represented by a Ventura County public defender named Kenneth Cleaver. Cleaver forced Skyhorse through a damaging sanity trial at which Douglass Durham, the FBI infiltrator who just testified on the sins of AIM before Senator Eastland, testified as a witness "for the defense". Under oath, Durham said he was an Indian professor of clinical psychology from the University of Iowa, and knew all about the "Indian mind" from the inside and from study. Recent attempts to have Durham charged with perjury were rebuffed by the prosecution.

Another interesting fact: at the same time Cleaver was representing Skyhorse, he was also representing Marvin Red Shirt, deeply involved in the murder of George Aird. Cleaver was negotiating Red Shirt's immunity in exchange for his testimony against Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Another public defender also has intervened in the case. Skyhorse had sought aid from the Southern Poverty Law Center, which takes only death-penalty cases. He had received a reply from them, declining to help. "We have spoken with Richard Erwin of the Public Defender's office," the letter says. "Erwin assures us that you do not face the death penalty and will at most be convicted of second-degree murder." Why Erwin would say that is not known. What is known is that Skyhorse and Mohawk have always been a mandatory death penalty test case.

Another Bar Association member, Judge Robert Shaw, had said in a preliminary hearing before the defendants and the press in open court: "I have seen the evidence and they are guilty." Shaw did not explain how a judge can see the evidence before the trial begins, nor did he say what he had seen or who showed it to him.

Judge Ben Ruffner also had the defendants before him. He knew them as "insane troublemakers" when they tried to speak for themselves against what was being done to them. The defendants were in shackles and

handcuffs, and many times they were beaten and dragged out of court.

Their court-appointed attorneys took to waiving their clients' appearances in court when they wouldn't ride the railroad quietly. A lot of Skyhorse's protests were directed, in fact, at his attorney, then a man named Fred Kosmo, whose wife is on the Ventura City Council.

"All that saved us so far is that we didn't give up," Skyhorse now says. "The single most important thing

we won is our *propria persona* status — the right to represent themselves — although we lack legal skills."

The Ventura Bar Association may have thought the defendants wanted the trials to go on forever because they were so much fun, but for these two Tontos who wouldn't knuckle under, it wasn't fun at all. A special "minimax security cell" was built for Skyhorse in the windowless depths of Oxnard jail. "Once a week I went eagerly to see the Chaplain," Skyhorse recalls. "Not that I was interested in his religion, but to see the sun once a week, even through bars, and to talk to another human being. But he didn't help none with the physical things that were being done."

Both Skyhorse and Mohawk were beaten quite a lot, and were often chained to the bars for long periods. Skyhorse was thrown naked and shackled into the hole, once for days, with an inch of water on the floor.



But the worst of all, in The Law's efforts to tame the Tontos, they drugged them. Skyhorse had side effects from heavy doses of Thorazine and Stellazine four times daily, so they switched him to Millaril, an experimental drug which has caused brain damage in the laboratory animals on which it has been tested.

Mohawk, in isolation in what the sheriff himself calls "the worst jail in the state" was beaten and chained. He can no longer straighten his left arm because of this. He too was heavily drugged, although he is not sure what he was being given.

When Mohawk and Skyhorse were finally caged together early this year so they could work on their defense, Skyhorse had kicked the forced pacifiers, and Mohawk tried to do the same. The trial had to be delayed twice because of his severe withdrawal symptoms — cramps and vomiting from the addiction to which he had been compelled.

Skyhorse and Mohawk are now alert and intelligently in control of themselves at all times in the courtroom. They study lawbooks a lot when they are occasionally allowed to visit the inadequate jail law library. They are still in isolation and can't have visitors, but can interview witnesses at the "aquarium", a glass box, under the eyes and ears of the deputies and whatever bugs which the jail has planted there.

So much fun.

Recently, witnesses and supporters have been harassed. This spring, an Indian-Chicana woman named Norma Gonzalez contacted Mohawk. She had been caged with Broussard and Marci Eaglestaff in the days following their arrest, and had overheard and taken part in conversations with them. Her correspondence with Mohawk indicated that Broussard and Eaglestaff had confessed their involvement in the murder.

"I could cut them loose if I wanted to," Eaglestaff had told her, she said. "But I'm going to say they did it, like they want me to, so I can get my immunity and get out. [Then] I'm going to disappear and not testify against them." Theoretically, she has disappeared — although there are plenty of indications the prosecution knows where she is.

Norma Gonzalez did come to be interviewed by Mohawk in the aquarium, with the watch commander watching (and listening) from a few feet away. After the witness left, Mohawk was searched, as prisoners always are. A packet of heroin was "found" in the notebook he always carried to the aquarium, which Norma is supposed to have passed to him through the closely-grilled speaking holes. Mohawk has been indicted on this additional felonious possession charge, facing another trial after this one. "Indian Murder Suspect Charged With Heroin Possession," the local press said.

Other harassments have included detaining and questioning for hours Indian women coming in for interviews as potential witnesses. Sharon Sperling, the woman who courageously spoke out at The Law's "Hijinks", is a native woman of respectable suburban background. She has been a speechwriter for Jesse Unruh, a power in the California Democratic Party, and a strong campaigner for Congressman Richard Alatorre, and other candidates favorable to ethnic minorities. Sperling had been responsible for bringing Dennis Banks to Ventura to support the two men whom AIM had abandoned because of Doug Durham's maneuvering. She has a friend, Betty Johnson, a Pima secretary.

Both women have no arrest records or experiences with The Law until they became involved as supporters in the Skyhorse-Mohawk case. On October 26, they visited the two defendants in the aquarium. Before being led up, both men were thoroughly searched by a deputy, which is unusual — searches usually take place on the way out. Sharon handed some documents to another deputy at the counter, who searched them and



— Ventura Star-Free Press photo by Gary Phelps
Dennis Banks of AIM speaks from the sheriff's office in Ventura in support of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, who have been active in AIM for years

took them around to the aquarium. After the women left, both men were again searched, and this time, two joints of grass were "found" in Skyhorse's pocket. The police report suggests the joints came from the women. The prosecution has brought an information for felonious possession against Skyhorse to the Grand Jury. Now, with investigators interviewing neighbors and friends and employers, both women worry about their jobs.

Skyhorse and Mohawk aren't using and don't want any drugs. They had a hard time kicking the prison system's behavior-modifying drugs, and their lives now depend on their mental alertness.



Other women supporting the defendants have begun to receive obscene phone calls and death threats. Skyhorse's brother, Ken Littlefish, who is coordinating defense efforts, was beaten up and told to get out of town by what he believes to have been out-of-uniform deputies.

The press covering the story talks only to the prosecution. Not once has the local reporter contacted the defense for even the appearance of objectivity. For two years now, Ventura County has read and heard about those crazy Tontos whose jury will be Ventura residents.

Sweat lodges, spiritual ceremonies, and the Pipe have helped keep the commitment of local helpers strong in the face of all this. Attacks are expected to increase as the defense moves closer to proving that intelligence agencies of the U.S. Government, in collusion with

local law enforcement officials, are deeply involved in the actual slaying and in the frame-up of the two AIM activists.

Until now, most of the days in court have been involved in a pre-trial motion regarding the suppression of evidence. There was also hearings regarding Marilyn Skyhorse, who was married to Paul by Leonard Crow Dog. Initially, the court ruled that she was his wife and

had the right to refrain from testifying. Now the prosecution has produced a woman who was married to Skyhorse in 1965, and, he believed, divorced from him later after she left him and had a child by another man. Defense investigation has established that the FBI visited this woman, Lolita Hernandez, in Chicago, shortly before the prosecutor brought her to Ventura.

Skyhorse and Mohawk are still looking for attorneys who have the appropriate legal and political backgrounds for a case of this kind. Skyhorse's advisory counsel, Dave Callahan, has been told by the law firm which employs him that he will be fired if he doesn't get off the case. And Andrew Marsh, who advises Mohawk, has also been feeling local pressures. Both local attorneys have said they don't want to follow a political defense — and Skyhorse and Mohawk say their frame-up is clearly a political act.

As the case moves closer and closer to trial, help becomes more urgently needed. Details of the case and the anti-AIM involvement of The Law, have been reported in the last few issues of AKWESASNE NOTES. Contacts for those who want to help Skyhorse and Mohawk are:

Skyhorse/Mohawk Judicial Liberation Committee
322 N. Ave. 66
Highland Park, California 90042
telephone (213) 255-3975

Trial developments and legal information from Ventura:

Paula Giese
1293 Buena Vista
Ventura, California 93003
telephone (805) 648-7019 (not during court hours)

Financial contributions and mail for the defendants:

c/o Attorney Andrew Marsh
326 South A St.,
Oxnard, California 93030

[Phone-answering service for Skyhorse and Mohawk — ask for them by name and leave a message where they can call you — is at (805) 487-4107. Defendants cannot return all calls themselves, so please indicate if your call is defense information or good wishes, and understand that although there exists a reasonable expectation of privacy for legal defense preparations, the defense prefers to make special arrangements to receive important information on the assumption that Big Brother is following his usual practices.]

Navajo Leaders Accused Of Corruption

Window Rock, Navajo Nation — A political dispute between Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald and U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater is resulting in possible indictments, audits, and new charges of corruption and mismanagement in Navajo Nation finances.

The U.S. Justice Department has been examining tribal affairs nearly a year, and grand juries have already indicted 8 Navajos.

Figures have leaked out indicating that twelve years ago, the Navajo Nation had \$73.6-million in U.S. cash reserves, but it has only \$30-million left at the end of this fiscal year. That doesn't mean anything negative, and in fact it could even mean good management. But MacDonald has declined to give a financial report to the Navajo People, so no one knows if the plummeting reserves are for better or worse.

MacDonald says those figures are false — trust reserves have increased from \$54-million in 1970 to \$54.9-million today, he computes. But the facts of the matter are still hard to come by and depending who you listen to, the story is different.

There are allegations of payoffs or kickbacks in business deals, charges of conflicts of interest involving Navajo officials who own stock in or hold positions in private companies, and misappropriation of funds.

MacDonald said that while there was a crying need for more management expertise, he said that Navajo fiscal operations were still "far better than that of any state, city or Federal Government."

On February 27, 1976, Goldwater asked the General Accounting Office [GAO] of the U.S. to audit Navajo finances, and the Navajo Council agreed to allow that audit.

He also got the U.S. Attorney's office in Phoenix to investigate "fiscal irregularities", and the FBI also was checking things out. Among the programs coming under scrutiny were the Tribal Scholarship Fund, the Navajo Tribal Fair Board, and the Tribal Election Board. A look at the Navajo Arts and Crafts Enterprise, which marketed Navajo-made jewelry and rugs, was also scheduled — it recently closed shop for lack of funds after losses of \$505,904 in 1975.

The Navajo Nation has an annual budget of almost \$50-million. Revenue this fiscal year is estimated at between \$22-million and \$28-million. A Bureau of Indian Affairs report several years ago predicted the Navajo Nation would be bankrupt by 1975, but an effort to operate on a budget more nearly in balance has slowed the outflow.

MacDonald has told the BIA he is "well aware" of the financial figures it cites, but points out that the BIA collected \$8.3-million of monies due the Navajos as royalties for exploitation of Navajo mineral resources just in the second half of 1975. MacDonald criticized the BIA for distributing copies of its report to members of the tribal council in what he called an "obvious attempt to create dissension within the council and to discredit the financial responsibility of my office."

MacDonald said that the BIA should start collecting monies due the Navajos and stop "its underhanded activities aimed at disrupting the normal governmental process of the Navajo Nation." He said, "We realize you have abdicated your position as trustee of Navajo Nation funds by refusing to act in critical situations." He said that area office employees were irritated that the collapse of the Navajo Nation they predicted had not occurred, and that it was trying to make its prediction come true.

Daniel Peaches, one of the Navajos elected to the Arizona legislator, said that there was a "very definite possibility" that the scandals in the Navajo administration might force MacDonald to step down. He said the predominant opinion on the reservation was that the tribal administration is run by a "bunch of crooked politicians."

Peaches said he disagreed with those opinions and felt MacDonald is the "best person to lead the Navajos through this difficult period."

MacDonald says he has given no thought to resigning, and that his concern now is to get the Navajo council to work on some of the problems caused by the investigations. "It is important that we, the Navajo Tribe, put our own house in order," he says.

MacDonald said the accusations against the Navajos were only hurting them. "A great number of people from the outside want the Navajos to stumble so that they can get what rightfully belongs to the Navajos."

The grand jury probes are "creating a certain amount of unrest and confusion," says George P. Vlassis, the tribal council's general counsel. He said that was bound to happen "when there is nibbling at the heels of government for a considerable period of time." The first grand jury indicted three Navajos, and the second indicted three other Navajos and a non-Indian who was accused of stealing tribal funds from a tribal enterprise. A federal grand jury in Albuquerque in July began investigating financial dealings of certain Navajo enterprises conducting business in that portion of the reservation around which New Mexico lies.

"If the United States had Watergate, the Navajos can get through the difficulties facing them," MacDonald said in July.

MacDonald is, in some ways, using the undertone of scandal and bankruptcy to his advantage in promoting development of Navajo mineral resources. He says that unless the \$24-million a year the Navajo council receives from coal, gas, oil and timber leases is increased, the financial situation really will deteriorate. He said that by 1986, the current leases will be producing only \$14-million in revenue because of declining production.

Although MacDonald was elected to office in 1970 as an extremely popular candidate, he has come under heavy attack during the last two years. Many former followers criticize what they call his ostentatious lifestyle — he drives a Lincoln Continental, lives in a luxurious ranch home, and draws a \$35,000 salary as chairman in a nation which has a \$900 per capita income.

In June, MacDonald acquired controlling interest and assumed the presidency of an insurance agency, Denay Insurance Inc., with offices in Window Rock and Phoenix.

MacDonald is a University of Oklahoma graduate in electrical engineering. He says that much of the financial difficulties go back to other administrations, and that during three of the six years he has been chairman, there has been a surplus in the general fund. He said tribal assets jumped from \$148.5-million when he took office in 1970 to nearly \$181.4-million last year. MacDonald says his administration received an annual average of \$39-million in U.S. grants, \$2.5-million in revenue sharing, and \$25-million in tribal-generated income. His administration employs 5,000 persons.

"Every day you read about the CIA and FBI being used for domestic witch hunting for political purposes. The FBI and Justice Department don't concern me at all."



— Chicago Tribune photo by Ovie Carter
Peter MacDonald in his executive office — Navajo Nation politics, U.S.-style

MacDonald says he has retained Edward Bennett Williams, president of the Washington Redskins football team and an active Democrat, to "monitor what these people are doing." Williams is a well-known criminal lawyer who specializes in cases involving politics and labor.

In September, officials of Tucson Gas and Electric Co., including chairman of the board J. Luther Davis, were commanded to appear before a U.S. grand jury in Phoenix to tell about its business relations with the

Navajo Nation. In 1973, the firm began building a controversial transmission line across a 78-mile corridor of the Navajo Nation lands in northwest New Mexico, to carry electrical power from a generating plant near Farmington to Tucson. Already the U.S. Attorney's office has checked out payments for 1973 charter air services used by Peter MacDonald and his staff — and paid for by TG&E.

The plane cost \$6,696, and was used by MacDonald and officials to fly to the area where the transmission line was to go and try to convince the Navajos resident there that they should not be objecting to the line being constructed on their lands. The residents had objected to turning the land over to TG&E. At one time, gunshots were fired at TG&E workers.

While the people in the area didn't gain much, TG&E paid the tribal council \$1-million for the right of way, and \$75,000 annually over a 50-year period. Navajo Police were dispatched to protect the TG&E workers.

Goldwater: Some of My Best Friends . . .

MacDonald denounces the investigations as outside political harassment, laying much of the blame on his former political ally, Senator Barry Goldwater, an Arizona Republican. MacDonald was a Republican when he came into office, but he did two things — he got the Navajos interested in United States politics and he gave open support to Democratic candidates. He pushed voting registration drives.

Justice Department investigators are reportedly looking into the tie-in MacDonald has with leaders of the AFL-CIO which is reportedly trying to unionize the Navajo Nation's enterprises and industries. One source whispers that MacDonald is being protected by two bodyguards supplied by AFL-CIO.

MacDonald has been at odds with other Navajo leaders over the role the powerful union is to play in the affairs of Navajo workers. Originally, Senator Goldwater had claimed some tribal officials had teamed up with labor leaders to "buy" Indian votes with liquor and cash — presumably votes for the Democratic Party. MacDonald replied by accusing Goldwater of not understanding Indian issues, a particularly galling insult to Goldwater who has built a reputation of being "the Indian's friend".

Goldwater lost in only two counties in Arizona — Navajo and Apache, both with vast areas on the reservation. 90% of the Navajos had voted against Goldwater.

"The vindictiveness with which Goldwater has been attacking the tribe shows that he is not above doing anything which would do the tribe or myself in," MacDonald says. **"With an investigation going on every day, you are bound to find someone doing something wrong,"** he added. **"This sort of thing has been going on in government all of the time. People are human."**

But of our 5,000 tribal employees, only six or seven have been under investigation or indicted. If this is corruption, then the world is in a hell of a mess."

But whoever instigated the investigations, the controversy has caught fire in the Navajo Nation itself.

The People Come to Window Rock

When the Navajo Council convened for its spring session on May 18, there was a demonstration of

several hundred persons. Trouble began late in the day as the council discussed grievances presented earlier by representatives of the group, "Navajo People Concerned About Their Government". The debate was put out over loudspeakers to the group which was kept outside the council hall in the rain.

The crowd of demonstrators grew to about 600, but only about 50 persons were allowed inside the hall.



Among the demands of the group were for a moratorium on all contracting and leasing of Navajo natural resources and minerals to outside firms. And it wanted a lease then being renegotiated with El Paso Gas for coal to be cancelled. [Later in August, when the council proceeded to approve the lease, there were other demonstrations and arrests.] Also, it wanted a complete reorganization of the Navajo government in order to define the responsibility that the government has to the Navajo People. At the present time, it is accountable to the Secretary of Interior, but not to its own electors. Too, they wanted an audit of Navajo finances to determine if bankruptcy is looming.

One of the strongest complaints was the lack of accounting. Protesters pointed to a statement in the last audit of tribal books, by Ernst & Ernst, in 1972. It said: "Of \$406.9-million in identified revenues, goods, and services, only \$45-million was being accounted for within the existing financial reporting system of the tribe as of June 30, 1972."



— Navajo Times photo
Navajo Marchers: Is Their Government Accountable?

In January, 1975, 27 of the 74 members of the Navajo Council requested that the Interior Department conduct an audit of Navajo finances. However, Rogers Morton, then Secretary of Interior, said his department didn't have the authority to audit non-trust non-federally funded operations of any native group.

The Navajo legislators said the information they sought from the Interior Department was "not available to us from any source within the tribe." The request asked for an "analysis of the effectiveness" of all Navajo operations. Morton said that Interior could only undertake an audit with the "resolution of the tribal council or at least an authorized request of the chairman."

The attorney for the Navajos, George Vlassis, said the agitators were from Shiprock and he claimed "they were subject to the direction of other people."

Vlassis himself is the subject of controversy. His firm receives \$330,000 in salary and fees annually.

"We pay \$767,000 per year in legal services," Annie Wauneka, the only woman on the Navajo legislature, says. She believes there is an overlap of duties performed by the various law firms contracted to the Navajo Council. Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman in Washington, D.C., are paid about \$60,000 annually in Navajo funds to lobby legislation affecting Navajos. The Navajo Council also employs a full-time legislative assistant in Washington.

W. Richard West of the Shriver firm said that Vlassis determines which Washington counsel is to handle specific legislative matters. Vlassis is guaranteed \$250,000 annually from the Navajo Council, and he receives another \$30,000 for expenses, plus about \$50,000 more for representing various tribal enterprises.

Norman Littrell, former Navajo general counsel, has claimed he is owed \$1-million for his work in the land dispute between the Navajos and Hopis. The Hopi general counsel in the suit, John Boyden, received \$1-million from the Hopi Council. Littrell and Boyden had signed contracts with the two nations, providing that the fees would be based upon the amount of land each won or saved for their clients.

Councilman Raymond Smith of Houck wondered aloud in a recent Council session: "Why do we have to hire a law firm to defend us when the Bureau of Indian Affairs has in its trust responsibility the obligation of defending resources of the tribe?"

Smith said that the "general run of people don't understand what is going on. The council and the

chairman are supposed to take care of the tribe's people. They trust them."

Last March, an independent agency, Navajo Housing and Development Authority [NHDA] found that a Los Angeles mortgage investment concern, the American Funding Corporation, to which it had given \$13-million to invest, had gone bankrupt and was in U.S. receivership. The Navajo agency did not even have a receipt for the investment, nor did it ask where the money was going, or for how long it would be tied up. It turned out that the American Funding vice president who persuaded the Navajo housing officials to part with the money was a convicted felon, A. Gordon Eldred, who had spent two years in prison on grand theft and forgery charges. Some of the Navajo money had been invested in a Las Vegas gambling house. Moreover, three tribal officials had been given checks of up to \$50,000 by American Funding as "personal loans" — but the checks bounced.

As a result, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, which had funded the Navajo agency, put in tight controls over further disbursements by the NHDA, and also halted plans for 480 more housing units for Navajos.

On October 28, Pat Chee Miller, former executive director of the Navajo Housing Authority was indicted by a U.S. grand jury on charges of misapplication of funds and conspiracy in connection with the \$15-million. The eight-count indictment charged that Miller had taken \$42,322 in kickbacks from the California investment company.

Miller's indictment brought to eight the total number of Navajos facing federal charges from the investigation. Another U.S. grand jury is checking out Navajo financial dealings in New Mexico.

Nicholas N. Dimitriou, general manager of the NHDE since March, says much of the financial loss occurred after July, 1975. One area of trouble was construction of 163 houses for hospital personnel at Tuba City, in the western area of the 25,000-square-mile nation lands. NHDE had a \$5.1-million contract from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to build the houses.

Dimitriou said that beyond the original contract, an additional \$1.5-million will be owed to project suppliers and \$300,000 to subcontractors. He said laborers on the Tuba City project, mostly Navajos, received \$9.43 per hour under provisions of the U.S. Davis-Bacon Act.

The Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity:

The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity grants are channeled through the "Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity" [ONEO]. A special auditor for the tribal council says that ONEO's financial procedures are chaotic and getting worse.

Ira Osman, former Arizona auditor general, said that there is no one within the multi-million dollar organization that has a strong financial background. ONEO receives and disburses over \$10-million annually.

ONEO has had four financial controllers over the past two years — three of them in the past year, and Osman said that office was in shambles. Since September, 1973, the chaotic situation has forced ONEO to pay outside auditors \$227,067 to go over its financial records. Osman had found only one actual "discrepancy" — in the books of the Shiprock Day Care Center, an ONEO operation, \$50,000 was withdrawn from the center's bank account and deposited in another account without the transaction being recorded on ONEO books. Four months later, the money was put back into ONEO's general account.

Documents show that ONEO got more than \$98-million in federal and state funds between 1965 and 1976, for human development programs. They also show that a former purchasing agent had been getting a 27% commission.

The Navajo Aviation Authority [NAA], which owns and operates Sky Harbor Air Service in Phoenix, is also losing money and may become a business failure in the near future, Osman says. NAA was created by the Navajo Council in August, 1972, to provide Navajo officials and other governmental agencies on the nation lands with a chartering service to serve communities both in Navajo lands and in the southwestern U.S. In April, 1975, the authority paid \$720,000 for Sky Harbor Air Service, which was owned by Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Michael of Phoenix, who stayed on as general manager and operations director. The two received a combined annual salary of \$37,000. Recently, they tendered their resignations.

In August, 1975, NAA used \$362,000 in U.S. revenue sharing funds to purchase three new aircraft to add to the three that the company owned at the time of purchase. Two of the older aircraft were then sold for \$116,375.

Lawrence Ruzow, a member of the legal firm under contract to the Navajo Council, said that the NAA financial problems stem from lack of U.S. aid for operation of airports in the Navajo Nation. "No airline in the country has to operate its own airports," he said. NAA performs all the functions in the Navajo Nation



that cities and the U.S. Government pay for in the U.S. Also, Ruzow said, the governmental agencies on the reservation, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs and even the Navajo Council itself, were bypassing the NAA and using Frontier Airline flights out of Gallup, New Mexico. The Phoenix Area BIA Office used to use Sky Harbor before it was purchased by the NAA, but now it takes its business elsewhere.

Osman said one tribal enterprise that was doing well was the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority [NTUA] which has shown profits for the last three years, accumulating \$4.8-million in earnings. Its annual operating revenues may exceed \$10-million this year.

However, Osman termed the Navajo Housing and Development Enterprise [NHDE] as a "tragic example of poor financial management."

In addition to the internal audit conducted by Osman, outside auditors from the U.S. General Accounting at the BIA offices in Los Angeles. The Navajo Council had authorized the GAO audit, which was initiated by Senator Goldwater, and asked that it extend back to 1962.

Another tribal enterprise, the Greater United Navajo Development Enterprise, Inc., and its subsidiary, United Navajo Construction Co., is now broke, although it received \$1-million in U.S. grants three years ago to get started.

The organization generated \$3-million in revenues during its operation, but its books were in such a state the auditors couldn't be sure this report was accurate or fair. However, it seemed that as of August 31, 1974, the organization was nearly \$1-million in debt. By liquidating its assets, the debt has been reduced to \$300,000. President of the enterprise is James D. Atcitty, who formerly was executive director of ONEO, through which the U.S. grants were funneled. Atcitty is now executive director of the Navajo social services department. He also formerly headed the Navajo election board.

One of MacDonald's former staff assistants, Art Arviso, has been indicted by a federal grand jury. He is a tribal commissioner, and his indictment charges embezzlement of building materials and labor from the Navajo Tribal Fair for use on his property at Window Rock and Crownpoint. The fair's manager, David Jackson, also was indicted on the same two counts. Jackson pleaded no contest to a reduced misdemeanor of aiding and abetting in the embezzlement of building supplies, and the felony charges were dismissed.



Arviso pleaded guilty and vowed he would reimburse the Navajo Nation for any losses of labor, lumber and other materials he had used to improve his trailer at Window Rock.

Jackson had not personally benefited by allowing materials to go to Arviso.

James Schermerhorn, director of the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Indian Rights is in charge of the investigation. Dennis Ickes, who was with that office in the Justice Department, and is now undersecretary in Interior, has also conferred with persons involved in the probe. He is a nephew of Harold Ickes, Interior secretary in the Roosevelt New Deal administration that set up the present Navajo style of government.

The U.S. Attorney's office in Arizona is conducting its own investigation into Navajo affairs.

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Navajo — Hopi Dispute

Oraibi, Hopi Nation

A U.S. judge is expected to rule this winter that thousands of Navajos will have to move from land they share with the Hopi so that certain Hopi can pasture their sheep there. The story behind the reasons why a U.S. judge is in the middle of a dispute between the Navajo Tribal Council and the Hopi Tribal Council is complex, and not all the facts have yet surfaced.

There is more at stake than "grazing rights".

In the 1971-72 period, the Four Corners Power plants and the strip-mining of Black Mesa were major environmental issues. The traditional peoples of both nations were totally opposed to strip-mining, particularly, of sacred areas for coal worth as much as a hundred billion dollars. In addition, signs of oil, natural gas and uranium are evident. The progressive Hopis, as well as the corporations and legal interests allied with them, would profit greatly through partitioning.

Still another faction objected — but for far different reasons. They had no objection to the development itself, but they said the native people should have a bigger cut of the pie, or should run the strip-mining themselves. One member of this school of thought was Peter MacDonald. His predecessor, Raymond Nakai, was regarded as a rubber stamp for the BIA, signing leases with very poor terms for the Navajos. MacDonald was elected in an anti-BIA backlash because of his independent stance from the BIA, a stance he has maintained during his term of office. The MacDonald administration has different aims and focus than the Hopi Tribal Council — and both tribal councils are different from the traditionals.

The media has characterized the dispute as being simply Hopis vs. Navajos. However, both peoples are divided into factions, the "traditionals" vs. the "progressives". Both groups of traditional peoples say this is a dispute among the progressives over wealth, and that the traditional people, left alone, would be able to peacefully resolve this problem among themselves instead of giving in to United States forced settlement. The progressives tend to be Christian, tend to regard themselves as U.S. citizens, and while they give some honor to the traditions of their people, according to the traditional viewpoint they do not live by the traditional values.

The traditionals, on the other hand, say they adhere to the way of life given to them by the Creator. They say they have a responsibility to protect the land and the lives of the unborn generations, and they follow the system of government given to them. Especially among the Hopi, they do not believe in voting, which acknowledges the right of a majority over a minority.

Instead, they decide by consensus, the way of natural peoples.

While the Hopi Tribal Council has been pressuring for partitioning, Hopi and Navajo traditionals have worked for reconciliation. When traditional Hopi religious leaders such as Mina Lansa of Oraibi testified against the partition bill introduced in the U.S. Senate, the progressive Hopis made outraged accusations that she was betraying her people by testifying "for the Navajos".

But Mina Lansa explained her position to the Senators. "I represent all living things. You should not divide men, because all men go together."

Attorneys on both sides of the dispute have claimed fees of \$1-million each for their services. John S. Boyden, attorney for the Hopis, filed the suit for the Hopi tribal council recognized by the U.S. under the Indian Reorganization Act.

In addition to the suit which brought about the relocation plan, the Hopi have filed a claim against the Secretary of Interior or the Navajo Tribe for damages it says have occurred in the Joint Use Area since 1962. Attorneys will receive 10% of any settlement.

John Kennedy, a member of the Hopi's legal counsel firm, says that actually, 10% is a low figure, and that "our firm's practice is to take a much higher cut, sometimes as much as 40% in appeals cases." The same firm is also involved in a 1934 land case and an Indian Claims Commission case.

Judge Walsh had announced he would make his final judgment after one last hearing was held on October 9. But on September 28, he had open heart surgery, and although he is recovering well, aides say it will be about three months before he will resume his duties. At that time, he is expected to announce a new date.

Judge Walsh had announced September 9 that he would issue his judgment a month later. He said then he was in basic agreement with the partition line recommended by Federal Mediator William E. Simkin, and that he was opposed to the solution proposed by either Navajo or Hopi councils.

Walsh's decision will mean the relocation of approximately 3,500 Navajos and 40 Hopis, who happen to live on the "other side" of Simkin's partition line.

The origin of the land dispute dates back to 1882 when U.S. President Chester A. Arthur signed an executive order setting aside about 2.5-million acres of land in northeastern Arizona "for the use and occupancy of the Moqui (Hopi) and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon." Because of that ambiguous wording and 92 years of ineffective bureaucratic game-playing, the situation was open to conflict.

In the years between the 1882 executive order and 1962, there was frequent maneuvering from executive, judicial and legislative branches of the U.S. Government. In 1962, a special federal court ruled in the case of *Healing vs. Jones* that 631,194 acres belonged exclusively to the Hopis and the remaining 1,822,800 acres was established as a "joint-use" area for both Navajo and Hopi, a clarification of an ambiguity that was even more muddy.

After a series of congressional battles in the 1970s, Congress finally passed a law in December, 1974, putting the U.S. Government squarely into the struggle of the Hopi Tribal Council vs. the Navajo Council. That law called for six months of negotiations with a federal mediator, who would then make a recommendation for the consideration of Judge Walsh's court.

It is expected that there will be appeals of Judge Walsh's decision.

Included in the proposal is an appropriation of \$6-million to aid the Navajos with relocation, and \$6-million for the Hopi for "development".

The agency which will conduct the relocation, the Navajo-Hopi Relocation Commission, is already in trouble with the Navajo people. Even its chairman, Martin Scott, has blasted commissioners Hawley Atkinson and Rev. Paul Urbano, for failing to attend important meetings with the Navajo people. "It is evident they know nothing about Navajo people and the Navajo problems," Scott said.

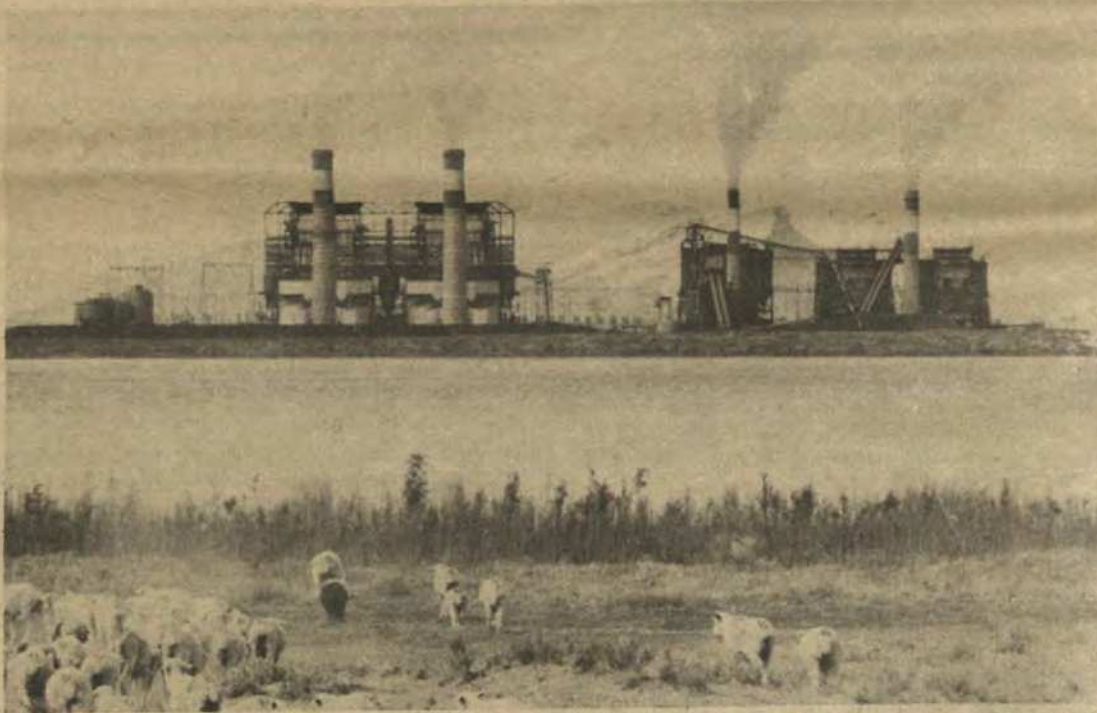
If the pair would have attended a meeting held this summer at Rocky Ridge chapter, they would have heard Taja Begay, supporting himself on crutches which he has needed since his legs and back were severely injured by shrapnel during the U.S. Army's 1944 campaign in France, say, "Many Navajo men were drafted by the Army 33 years ago and some did not return. I did return, and am standing here before you on a pair of crutches. I feel that we have done valuable things for the country and now they want us to move from this simple piece of land." He added, "I am firm in this position, and I think that many people of this area are going to take this position with me."

Raymond Keyoni asked the officials at the meeting how the government would respond to this resistance. "I'm wondering if you will be using some kind of force to remove us," he wondered.

Bill Collier, tribal operations officer from the Joint Use administrative office of the BIA, said that relocation would be carried out under order of a U.S. court, and federal marshals would probably be called in should persons resist relocation.

"I am curious what is the actual purpose behind partitioning the land," Katherine Smith asked. "I wonder if minerals such as uranium have been found here, and the Arizona politicians are just using the Hopis to get the Navajos off the land." She thought that after the Navajo had been removed, the Hopi would be the next loser when "the white men come in and get what they want."

Mina Lansa, Hopi traditionalist and spokesman for a group of Hopi who oppose the partition and relocation, told the Navajos she supported their desire to



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Ted Hetzel

The Four Corners Power Plants . . . Just the Beginning of "Development" for Navajos, Hopi Peoples

Also included in Simkin's recommendation is the establishment of a "Navajo Island" at the community of Jeddito near Keams Canyon, surrounded entirely by Hopi land. This area is one of the more densely populated parts of the disputed land, and Simkin suggested the island to minimize "as near as practicable" the number of families who would be forced to relocate. 40 Hopis living in the Jeddito area would be forced to leave.

Neither tribal council was happy with the mediator's proposal. Sekaquaptewa said the Hopis "will receive 100 square miles of unusable land," and MacDonald said the proposal fails to consider that Navajos need the land for grazing and had the "harsh element of forcing 3500 people off the land they used as homes for many generations."

Sekaquaptewa has styled the Navajos as "the Arabs of Indian country". He appealed in a speech before the Phoenix Press Club for the citizens of Arizona to become involved in the "struggle of the Hopis to escape Navajo domination."

Sekaquaptewa termed the recommended partition "a big giveaway program for the Navajos," and he accused the Navajo officials of being "not truly concerned about the situation of their people, but they're interested in grabbing more land and milking the Federal Government for as much as they can get."

remain on the land. "I don't want to move you people from our land, because you are our people," she said, speaking in English. "We are the ones who live here in this area, all of us. I don't see why these white people are moving you out from our land. This is your land. I want you to live here."

"We've been helping each other for a long time and we are still helping each other," Mina Lansa said. "It is not the white people's land, or the council's land, or Washington's. It is Hopi land, Navajo land."

Another Navajo woman spoke of the anxiety residents of the Joint-Use Area feel about the prospect of relocation. "These fears are comparable to fear of a tornado or other destructive force," she said. "Perhaps it is the Federal Government that wants to see the Hopis and Navajos fight each other. We can live in harmony with the Hopis, we know that. But it seems that outsiders are trying to cause trouble."

In the newsletter, *Techqua Ikachi*, a voice of the Hopi traditionals, the tribal councils were chastised, saying the whole problem could have been avoided if the councilmen would have "sat down together to consider what their traditional leaders want. They must cease grabbing after the land. They should liberate those who want to live their original lives instead of downgrading them."

In another statement, the Unity Committee had said the it was clear that "the Navajo people and the Hopi

(continued on next page)

traditional people have common bonds between them which no force can break. This common bond is our dedication to what we call our land."

It is people like Gloria Manygoats, 62, who will be forced to move out to satisfy the Hopi tribal council. Her grandmother was rounded up by soldiers for the Navajos' Long March to Fort Sumner, New Mexico, in 1864. Now Gloria Manygoats will also have to leave the land on which she was born, a victim of the claim of native officials to the mineral-rich lands in the Joint Use Area.

"I have been living in this place so long and I don't feel like going anyplace," Mrs. Manygoats says. She and her husband, Bryant, 65, live in a herder's bungalow about 12 miles west of White Cone near the Hopi reservation. Three generations of her family are buried in traditional unmarked graves on her place, she said.

"I have a grandmother from this place," she says. "Her name was Bahumy and she went to Fort Sumner from here and came back to this same place and die here. She had a brother and sister and they die around here too. They have grandchildren and great-grandchildren,

incentives but interviews indicated that the offer has tempted few of the dwellers of the area.

Navajo Nation chairman Peter MacDonald has warned of armed resistance, and BIA officials assigned to enforce the Navajo withdrawal confirmed that they have been alerted for trouble. Already, there have been some skirmishes along the Navajo-Hopi frontier when Hopi tribal council people have impounded Navajo livestock.

All homes provided in the new area will have hot and cold running water, flush toilets, and electricity. Just the water and sanitation facilities alone are costing about \$5-million.

Eugene Lewis Sr., of White Cone, a social worker for the Navajo chapter government and commander of the local American Legion post, said his family would be among those expected to move. "I don't want to move," he asserts. "I'm a veteran. I fought for this land. People want to remain on the land they were born on, the land belongs to the people who live on it."

JOIN TO OVERCOME THIS THREAT TO LAND AND LIFE: YOUR GRANDFATHER

[This letter was received by AKWESASNE NOTES from David Monongye, a Hopi spiritual leader.]

I would like to take this opportunity to inform all brothers and sisters of the Path which all sincere people share, of a great threat to our future.

Right now we Hopi are suffering the interference of industrial pressures on our people. Our poor land has always been of no real interest to the Bahana, the Anglos. In the past ten years, there has been more and more interest in our lands.

This sudden interest comes as no surprise to those of us who still remember our ancient Prophecy. The Great Spirit told the Original People in the Beginning that this would happen. It was a grave warning.

This is the prophecy:

"Now you look upon me. I am a poor Man. I have almost nothing. I have only my planting stick, my seed corn, and a jug of water. I live a simple life.

"If you wish to live like me, you must sacrifice many things. If you want me for your leader, your chief, you must prove that you can live this way of life.

"Now look around. See this land. It is poor land. There is not much water, and very few trees. But this is the richest land. There is a great wealth under. But hear this warning — you are not to disturb this land and take this wealth out as long as there is still war going on. If you do, these things will be used to destroy life and this will not be your salvation."

Now there is a strip mine at our sacred Black Mesa, the Female Mountain. They are removing pure coal and burning it to make electricity for the big cities of the Southwest.

Just recently, uranium has been discovered on our sacred lands.

In order to gain access to this mineral, the Federal Government has a plan to forcibly remove all the residents from the land. These people are thousands of Traditional

Navajos who share this land with the Hopi.

We know we must resist the removal of these people because, if they are not there to guard this sacred land, the miners will move in and destroy everything. They will use this uranium, which poisons everything, and cause death and misery for thousands of years.

We who believe in the sacred instructions of the Great Spirit must resist and protest, for the sake of all Life, both present and future.

Write to your Senators and Representatives and insist that they repeal House Bill 93-531. This bill is now a public law and gives U.S. marshals the authority to forcibly remove all Navajos off this land. Tell your brothers and sisters to oppose this type of land grab before it is too late.

Join with our prayers and we still may overcome this threat to Land and Life.

Your Grandfather,

David Monongye

My mother and father die here too. I have eight children and a lot of grandchildren. They live around here by us.

"So, please — I would like to stay where I am now."

Many of her neighbors say there will be a fight if any attempt is made to move them from their homes. Some say there will be bloodshed.

Actually, the Joint Use Area is already becoming untenable for Navajos who wish to follow their traditional life style. All but a few of the sheep, goats, cattle and horses that form their livelihood are being removed from the range by court order.

In place of the unlimited grazing, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs has begun enforcing strict livestock quotas and range restoration. The open range is being closed behind five-strand barbed wire fences, which, the U.S. says, is part of a "range management program". True enough, the increasing Navajo population in the area has meant more and more head of livestock nibbling the fragile grass nearly to its roots in some areas.

Navajo livestock that are not voluntarily sold are being impounded. Lynn R. Montgomery, BIA Joint Use area assistant project director at Flagstaff, says Navajos who refuse to sell out have to pay impoundment costs. Currently, the BIA is buying Navajo stock at premium prices, and selling it the same day at cut-rate prices to a handful of white cattle buyers who have sensed the quick profits in the wake of Navajo problems.

According to William L. Benjamin, the BIA Joint Use Area project director, the CIA recognizes that the Navajos "will experience hardships" without their sheep. And to replace the sheep, he says, the U.S. is proposing community development projects and is encouraging private manufacturing plants to provide jobs for the herders, a program that would be considered an outrageous stroke of optimism — if, in fact, it existed.

"We are fulfilling our trust," Benjamin opines. "They are going to have to change their life-style."

Navajo homes in the area are simple and efficient, without plumbing and electricity, heated by fires fueled by hand-cut wood. Meals are eaten outdoors in summer in shade houses thatched with juniper boughs. To entice the Navajos to move out voluntarily, the BIA has suggested payments ranging from \$5,000 in the first year of relocation to \$1,000 in the fifth year as

Sam Sepi, 53, supports his nine children and invalid grandmother by selling wool and mutton. He is angry at the U.S. for ordering him to reduce his flock. "They are doing what they please with us," he snorted. "It will kill us spiritually. This will mean poverty here."

He said he plans to resist. "I'm not the only one who feels this way," he said. "I have talked to others, and they feel the same way."

John Yazzi, 54, chapter government vice-president, is another shepherd ordered to dispose of most of his herd. Speaking in Navajo about the move, he says, "The people could not move out of their hearts. They will die of homesickness. There is no medicine for homesickness."

Mae Betoni Thomas, 96, and her granddaughter, lost their sheep three times to impoundment after the animals crossed through a broken fence onto the Hopi reservation a half mile from her homestead. She pawned her jewelry at the White Cone Trading Post to pay the \$900 fine to get them back, then had to sell out to redeem her jewelry. She moved away.

"I left crying after they took my sheep," she said. "I had no way of taking care of it. My granddaughter left." She moved in with a relative on the Navajo reservation, but visits her homestead often.

"It will kill me if I have to lose this place," she said. She walked with aid of a cane to a peach tree that had withered with neglect. "I had 14 live births here."

She added, "I keep alive by visiting where I used to live. I stay here two or three days. I walk where I tended the sheep. The corral is empty now, and I am sad all the time."

Nora Yazzi, 62, matriarch of a large family that has settled around her in a district of the Joint Use Area, tells reporters, "All I have is here. If I must move, I don't know where they would move me. They should tell me. But even if I went someplace, this is the only place I would call home and I would come back here."

N.D. Begay, 72, a family leader who stood surrounded by offspring at his house beneath the stone rampart of Stephens Butte on land that the Hopi tribal council will get, said his age would not enable him to survive relocation. "The people in Window Rock do not come here and we do not know what is going on," he complained.

The helpless anger of the Navajos is focussed on the Hopi progressives. "They're the ones who started the



whole thing," said Frank Begay, 76, head of a family of 10 children and 40 grandchildren who plan to resist the U.S. withdrawal program.

Joseph Nelson said his family won't move even if the U.S. provides him with a house somewhere else and pays him \$5,000 incentive for moving. "There would be the water, electricity, fuel — and then they would say that Nelson owes them money from these things," he said. "No, I will stay here."

In July, Hopi tribal chairman Abbott Sekaquaptewa had to order a halt to the construction of a fence around a Hopi reservoir near Tuba City after his Navajo counterpart, Peter MacDonald, ordered Navajos to tear the fence down.

MacDonald has a 400-member Navajo Tribal Police Department, and Sekaquaptewa charged that the BIA had been "timidly standing by" while the fence was ripped down. "The Navajos have political pressure and we don't. The BIA is totally unwilling and afraid to go contrary to Navajo wishes."

The reservoir supplies water to Hopi farmers living in Pasture Canyon and in the nearby Moenkopi Village, located on the Navajo reservation. The Hopis claim that Pasture Canyon has historically been Hopi property. "We will no longer allow the aggressor Navajo to take over Hopi property by invasion," Sekaquaptewa said.

Sekaquaptewa said the reservoir's earthen dam was built 100 years ago by Hopis and Mormon settlers, and has been controlled exclusively by the Hopi since the Mormons were ordered off the land by the U.S. Government.

Sekaquaptewa called the fence removal "vandalism" and said that the Navajos were using unrestrained livestock grazing as a means of forcing the Hopis out. "It is not an act of provocation when Hopi people seek to protect their property from takeover by Navajo trespassers," he says. When referring to each other, both MacDonald and Sekaquaptewa like to use strong terms: MacDonald had labelled the fencing as "needless, universally and totally irresponsible."

MacDonald had allowed about two miles of fence to be constructed, representing 75% of the total project, before ordering it torn down by a crew of trustees from the local Navajo jail. The Hopi had been notified of the move by a letter from Acting BIA Area Director Val McBroom, who said the fence was "in violation of instructions which have been issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior."

Sekaquaptewa said that the reservoir was specifically excluded from Navajo control by Public Law 86-631, enacted on July 12, 1960.

The House Rock Valley Controversy

Part of the plan for the partition involves transferring 250,000 acres of public land in House Rock Valley north of the Grand Canyon to the Navajo Nation, and then move 60 families and 12,000 sheep onto the arid fragile land. In a little-publicized section of the Hopi-Navajo Land Settlement Act of 1974, Congress gave the Navajo tribal council permission to select a quarter-million acres of Bureau of Land Management territory.

The transfer of the land is also opposed by a coalition of eight non-native conservation groups, such as the Arizona Wildlife Federation. They have asked Rep. Sam Steiger, an Arizona Republican, to introduce a bill repealing the authorization for the Navajos to take the federal land as part of the settlement.

Also, a group of Utah cattlemen with grazing permits in northwest Arizona's "Arizona Strip" are also protesting the transfer. The Utah ranchers are running 4,000 head of cattle on the strip, the name given to the area which is bounded by the Colorado River on the east and south, and by the Utah and Nevada borders on the north and west. The boundaries the Navajos wish to establish would be the Utah border, the Paria Canyon Primitive area on the east, a line south of U.S. Alternate 89 on the south, and the Kaibab National Forest on the west.

The Navajos chose the House Rock Valley/Paria Plateau, even though it is on the opposite side of the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon from their present reservation. The land is valued at only about \$50 per acre. About 12 white ranching operations are there now.

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But the BLM says the move would be an environmental disaster. The vegetation and wildlife would be destroyed, limited underground water supplies would disappear, and also, they worry that "public access" would be curtailed. Presently, there are mule deer and antelope in the area. Ironically, the BLM also worries that the living native people will "adversely affect the archeological sites of the Anasazi culture" on the Paria Plateau. It feels that the land should be open to public hunting, camping, rockhounding, and viewing the beauty of the Vermillion Cliffs Natural Area.

Both the Forest Service and the BLM are concerned about the possibility of Navajos moving onto adjacent North Kaibab National Forest and BLM land in Arizona and Utah, and the Park Service wants a buffer

zone maintained on Marble Bench to prevent Navajos from building near the rim of the Grand Canyon.

And lastly, the BLM opposes the move because "the resettled Navajos will suffer cultural shock."

The Land "Claims Settlement"

On October 30, 252 progressive Hopis agreed to accept a \$5-million settlement from the United States of America for lands which the Hopis had taken from them.

The Hopi Nation consists of 7,500 persons.

It wasn't that the meeting was a secret — it was just that most Hopi decided to turn their back on the proceedings to show their contempt for any offer to sell the earth. While the meeting was being held, at nearby Shungopavi, almost 2,500 persons were attending a traditional basket dance.

The settlement proposition was explained by attorney John S. Boyden of Salt Lake City, who will receive over half a million dollars of the deal. The original claim had been filed by attorneys in 1951 with the Indian Claims Commission. After seven years, the Claims Commission issued its ruling, but the tribal council of the day didn't agree, and appealed the decision to the Claims Court. The Claims Court agreed with the original finding, so the attorneys decided to appeal to the Supreme Court. Through private negotiations, the United States agreed to settle for \$5-million on the side to close out the matter forever.

Some people at the October 30 meeting wanted to have more time to consider the complex proposition, but attorneys said there were legal pressures making it necessary to have the matter decided that day.

Traditional leader Mina Lansa personally delivered a letter to the tribal council after the meeting, saying that the Hopi People would consider the deal "null and void. It will not be binding on the spiritual leaders of our Hopi people." She demanded a meeting with tribal officials.

Her letter was answered by tribal council vice-chairman Alvin Dashee, who said that her letter was "an ultimatum directed to a sovereign tribal government," and that the language of her letter was "an outrage on the Hopi people." "This tribal government will decide for itself what meetings to attend and what others not to," Dashee said in a Nixonesque statement.

Despite the poor attendance at the meeting and the traditional protest, BIA superintendent Alph H. Secakauku recommended to Interior Department officials that the settlement be approved.

Earlier, a statement by the religious leaders urged a boycott on the referendum — apparently with good success since only 3% of the Hopi Nation showed up. However, the BIA considers that democracy has been well served.

[Thanks to CPF, John Stewart of Pacific News Service, Keep Strong, Workers World, Jim Davis in the Lansing Star, Weekly People, the newsletter of the San Francisco Chapter of the Native American Solidarity Committee for information used here.]



Negotiates For Long Term Leases

Window Rock,
Navajo Nation

According to the general counsel for the Navajo Nation, George Vlassis, the current administration has under negotiation leases and mineral contracts that could net the Navajo Council at least a billion dollars in the next 50 years.

The price: exploitation of non-renewable resources throughout the reservation, coal gasification plants, hazards of radio-activity, water shortages, social problems.

The newest proposal is from Exxon, and would create jobs and revenue at the same time it created environmental disruption and permanent changes in the Navajo way of life. In a few years, when the resources are gone, Exxon and the jobs and the money would be gone too.

The Secretary of Interior has been asked to approve a uranium development agreement which Navajo chairman Peter MacDonald has negotiated with Exxon. And while the Interior Department has been dragging its heels in approving the proposal, the BIA describes the project as "a milestone in Navajo tribal administration."

If the deal goes through, the Navajos get an immediate "bonus" of \$6,000,000. And while Navajos can exercise certain controls over the development, they are committed to massive mining and processing development on their lands. The agreement covers about 625 square miles between Shiprock and Toadlena.

During the life of the project, 20 million tons of ore will be mined. The ore will be processed in mills with conveyor towers, exhaust stacks and smoke plumes rising high above the desert floor. Tailing ponds and borrow areas will permanently alter the surface of the land.

While this damage alone is serious enough, the Exxon project is only one of many, a small part of the total development about to occur in San Juan County.

But the Exxon deal has some unique hazards. Accident and health considerations for uranium miners cannot be taken lightly. Radioactive effluents will come from the milling operations. Each mill will use a million gallons of water per day.

The mining will also inflict physical damage on certain outstanding features of the Navajo landscape. Alberta Tippeconnic, a politically-active Navajo woman, worries about this, saying "the land is considered as a part of the Navajo's Spiritual Self. It is part of one's being and existence. Different areas and landmarks figure in the spiritual life of Navajo People. To disregard the effects of alterations to the land would be to disregard and deny our existence."

The most famous landmark to be affected is Shiprock. The peak itself is excluded from the project, but its volcanic dikes and much of an area proposed for a Navajo Park are not. The area could be badly damaged by grid-type exploration. The scenic slopes and cliffs of Beautiful Mountain, the colorful Beclahbito Dome, the red walls of Pena Blanca Canyon and the sensitive lower slopes of the Chuska Mountains will all be disfigured.

Tippeconnic also questioned the development of non-renewable resources for short-term benefits, especially when long-term beneficial renewable resources would be destroyed in the process. "The governments, both tribal and federal, must give more consideration to the development of renewable resources that will continue

to benefit the Navajo Nation over a long period of time," she said.

It would not be the first time there was uranium mining on Navajo land. The last mining caused numerous cases of radiation poisoning, but the company, Kerr McGee and Vanadium, have denied liability.

Exxon will be operating elsewhere in the Southwest. The U.S. National Park Service quietly gave Exxon three leases to permit a search for possible uranium mine sites in the Grand Canyon. The action was taken last year without public announcement. Just a year earlier, the Park Service had rejected an Exxon application as unacceptable, saying just the access roads necessary would "irreparably scar the land."

The project would provide some employment for a time. No Navajos would be employed until 1982. Then there is the potential of 194 jobs, rising to a peak of 917 in 1990. But in 1993, employment will begin to decline to nothing at all, and high unemployment rates are anticipated.

For the Navajo Nation administration, there are some enticing sweeteners in the deal. At the moment, two options are under consideration. One would be receipt of \$127,800,000 over the 15-year-life span of the project. Or there is the possibility of investment and earnings sharing, which could provide \$22-million annually, but would tie up a very sizeable amount of Navajo assets.

Either way, there are going to be hidden costs, both to Navajos and to the U.S. taxpayer. Social services would have to be provided to workers coming in during the boom period — and there would be the hardships of the "bust" portion of the cycle after Exxon and the money were long gone.

"What is missing from the Environmental Impact Statement [EIS] is a hard dollars-and-cents estimate of the cost in tax dollars vs. the profits that mining would bring," Richard Wilson, a BIA social service worker at the Shiprock Agency points out. Services provided by tax dollars would represent, in effect, an enormous subsidy of Exxon by both U.S. and Navajo sources. "If Exxon is made to bear the cost of the social disruption it will cause, Exxon will withdraw from participation in the agreement," Nelson believes.

During the preparation of the EIS, Nelson along with Edison Yabeny and Andi Sheppard prepared a detailed study of current social and economic conditions within the development area. This study was largely ignored by the BIA, which relied instead on "outdated anthropological textbooks and the canards of biased white observers," Nelson says.

The Nelson-Yabeny-Sheppard study contained these insights: "As the world economy has become more developed, the land upon which the Navajos live has afforded them a living farther and farther below the survival level, let alone the subsistence level. On the other hand, the treatment afforded by the U.S. to the largest and most intact of its 'domestic nations' has increasingly pushed [Navajos] in the direction of seeing the flaws in the general American way of life.

"While Navajos are inclined to dissent from, and wish to stay aloof from the Bilagaana (Western) Way, even the stoutest dissenter can hardly turn down the means of materially providing for his wife and children offered by tying into the industrialized General American Society. Thus for many, the only kind of dissent possible is cultural and ideological resistance —

alienation from those ideas and values which distinguish the general American culture from the Navajo."

But the *Phoenix Gazette* isn't worried about that. In an August 5 editorial, it opines that "extensive industrial development on the Navajo Reservation is almost certain to break down the tribal culture, but that isn't necessarily a revolting prospect since the alternative is the poverty inherent in a pastoral society." The newspaper says that Navajo culture has always been changing — witness the addition of silversmithing, sheep, horses or pick-ups — and the new developments will simply bring more change: "After all, culture ordinarily is an evolutionary process, except among primitive peoples hopelessly isolated from contact with other societies."

The *Gazette* says it hopes that the Navajos can combine the "best of their traditional ways with technological change to come up with a culture that is uniquely Navajo. In any event, the Navajos should not be frozen in time and denied the advantages of industrialization simply because non-Indians find them so fascinating the way they are."

Navajo chairman Peter MacDonald admits there might be some opposition to the project from Navajos who are living in the area, but he feels they should be more charitable. "The minerals belong to all the people, and not just the people living there," said MacDonald. "We all have to share in it."

While there is the talk of new development, the residents of Black Mesa are wondering when they will be compensated for the losses they suffered when strip-mining came in there years ago. They have had to go to court to sue Peabody Coal Company as well as the Interior Department. Peabody paid for damage to grazing lands and homesites, but compensation was insufficient to cover moving and new housing and means of support.



For Ted Yazzie and his wife, Jeannie, whose herd of 500 sheep has been reduced to 100, had much of their land on Black Mesa taken by Peabody Coal Company. While the sacrifices of the Yazzie family enable the people of Los Angeles to have plenty of cheap electricity generated by Black Mesa coal, the Yazzies are depressed. "It's really bad for us," they say. "A lot of our homes up here were destroyed. They've destroyed the land so we can't use it anymore."

In addition to shattering the land, the mining is erasing their religion. "We used to offer our prayers on the hills and springs," Ted Yazzie says. "Now they are all covered and destroyed."

His wife notes that with the land destroyed, "there is no reason for the rain to fall here anymore. Even our animals don't like it — they just wander away."

But with all these problems, uncertainties, and exploitation in evidence, the Anglo world can't quite seem to understand why the Navajos aren't happy with the chance for "prosperity". On November 3, the *Boston Globe* headlined an article about the Navajos, "Navajos Still Cling To Past; Reject Offer To Improve."

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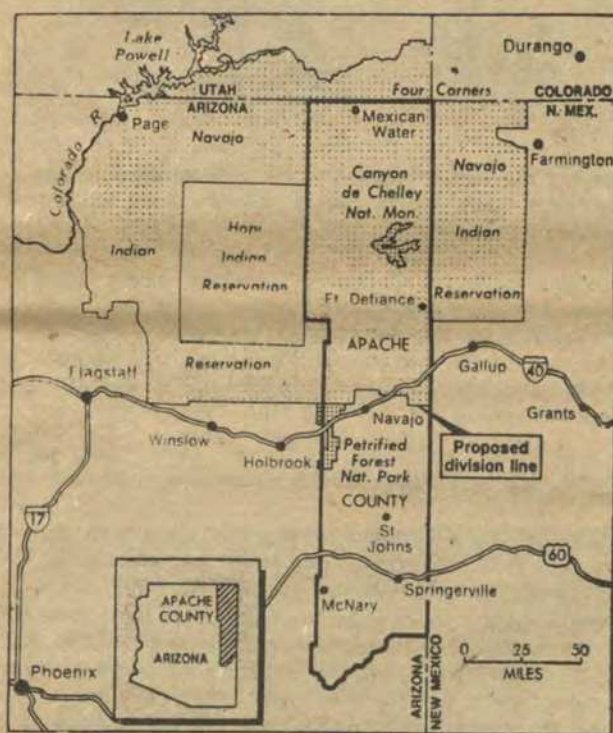
Arizonans Fear Navajo Vote

St. Johns, Arizona — A U.S. Supreme Court one-man one-vote ruling that has put Navajos into county offices is causing some Anglos of Apache County to cause the county to be split into two counties, apartheid-style.

The Supreme Court affirmed a ruling by a three-judge court ordering the county to reapportion its election districts for county supervisors by including 24,000 Navajos living on a reservation through which the county lines are run, even though the Navajos are not subject to local and state taxes.

According to Apache County Attorney J. Kendale Hansen, most white people in the county fear two possibilities of Navajo rule, meaning that the Navajos might do to the Anglos what the Anglos have already done to the Navajos. One fear is that the Navajos will boost taxes as a means of forcing the Anglos out, or secondly, that the funds raised from the Anglos will be used on the reservation. "That could just leave us high and dry," Hansen says.

There are 24,000 Navajos and 6,500 Anglos living in the county. Cattle, lumbering, farming and some tourist attractions among the Anglos form the tax base — plus energy corporations. The county is governed by a board of three supervisors, one from each of three districts. The 1970 census disclosed that one district had 1,700 residents, another 3,900, and the third — the Navajo area — had 26,700. A group of Navajos sued the county, demanding that the districts be reapportioned to give each one an equal number of persons, Anglo and Navajo alike being counted.



— Los Angeles Times map by Donald Clement

The County Board of Supervisors last year voted to withhold teacher retirement and Social Security payments from the state treasurer because they had to include funds for teachers on the reservation. A citizens group had contended that payments for the teachers should not come out of the county tax levy.

Platt says, "If we can't tax the Indians, then we shouldn't support them."

A bill was submitted to the state legislature to have Apache County cut off at the reservation line. It passed the House by a large margin, but the Senate balked, saying that 20% of the people living in the reservation area would have to agree, and 80% of those in the new county would have to sign a petition before they would vote on the matter.

The trouble began a few years ago when Navajos began to take an interest in county politics and started to exercise their right to vote for the first time in a challenge to the white minority which had ruled the county for years. That was in 1965, when the U.S. Congress enacted the Voting Rights Act. It took eight years for the Navajos to whip enough political interest for a serious challenge.

Then, in 1973, they elected a Navajo, Tom Shirley, a reservation trading post operator, to the Board of Supervisors. The white response was to go to court to bar Shirley from taking office. A Superior Court agreed with them, but the Arizona Supreme Court did not and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the case, and Shirley took his seat.

Although it is true Navajos do not pay taxes directly, they do indirectly. Some 57% of Apache County's property taxes are derived from businesses and industry, much of that supported by Navajo revenues.

The Arizona Supreme Court ruled that ownership of property — the basis for taxation — cannot be considered a requisite of political participation. They noted that persons who rent property and thus do not pay taxes still vote in municipal and county elections.

While white Apache County residents were happy to have the Navajos in the county as long as it remained under white control, as soon as the one-man one-vote ruling came down, they were eager to cut the Navajos away by putting them in a county of their own.

Racial tensions have increased as a result of the controversy. Peter MacDonald is critical of "those who lecture us to participate in the system and then build fences to segregate us."

"So long as our reservoirs supply the towns and cities of the state with water, we are good Indians," MacDonald said. "So long as we weave rugs and hammer out metal trinkets, we are good Indians. So long as we give our land away, we are good Indians. But the minute we get involved in the elective processes, we are bad."

The county is 200 miles long and 50 miles wide, running from the Utah border down to the Black River about 100 miles east of Phoenix. MacDonald said that any move to "give the Navajos their own county" through partition was "not motivated by humanity or goodwill toward all men, but rather by a last-ditch attempt to maintain absolute control over county politics in the same dictatorial way that has existed for the last 60 years." He called the move to partition "a throwback to the darkest days of racial discrimination in the U.S.," and said it was an "insult to the Navajo and a discredit to all Arizonans." He promised that "the Navajo will not submit docilely to this outrage." He blamed a small group of wealthy ranchers for inflaming prejudices.

MacDonald warned that partition could lead to violence: "If you insist upon passing legislation designed to alienate and punish Arizona's Indian population, there is nothing that either I or the other elected Indian leaders can do to control those who seek to bring about change by other than political means."

El Paso Natural Gas Co. pipelines account for \$12-million of the estimated \$24-million of taxable assessed-value property in the Navajo portion of the county. El Paso officials are fearful that the Navajo control will mean heavy taxes for their firm.

County officials deny the issue is a racial one, but say they simply feel they should not be taxed by people who do not pay taxes.

The dispute also brought out some termination talk. Rep. Tom Goodwin of Tucson announced he would like to solve the problem by having the federal government divide reservation lands among the Indians and "let them become 100% full-time citizens of the country."

MacDonald says the white residents have plain ordinary fear of having non-Anglo control. He hinted their consciences imply that "the Navajo would do unto them what they have done unto the Navajo." However, MacDonald said he believes the Navajos would not be motivated by revenge, but would continue to display the compassion and respect that is a part of their culture. In fact, he said, the Anglo people would probably have a better deal under Navajo control than what they are getting now from their own people.

White dominance has meant that of the county's 85 employees, only three are Indians — workers on county roads.

The Navajo Nation Is Not In Arizona

The whole question of state and native jurisdiction is a complicated one. Had the state of Arizona honored the sovereignty of native nations, the U.S. Constitution, and its own state constitution, there would not have been efforts to extend county and state jurisdiction on native soil. When Arizona became a state, its constitution specified that the people of the state "do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title" to lands owned or held by "any Indian or Indian tribes".

And while some native leaders, such as Peter MacDonald, are pushing to get native people more involved in county and state politics, other native groups are pushing to restore the separation which sovereignty implies. In June, the White Mountain Apache Council passed a new game and fish ordinance that removes the State of Arizona from all jurisdiction over wildlife on the Ft. Apache nation lands.

Earlier, the Arizona Game and Fish Commission had announced that it would continue to prosecute violations of state laws on Indian lands by non-Indians. It was commenting on an incident this spring on the Ft. Apache lands in which an Anglo woman was cited by a state ranger for not having a state license. As a result, the White Mountain Council barred all state personnel from their lands. Game and fish personnel have been barred from the Navajo Nation for several years.

Bill Beers, chairman of the state Game and Fish Commission, promised to counter by setting up road blocks just off the reservations to check on non-Indians. "We won't be able to cite them for taking, but we can sure get them for possession," Beers said.

According to the state, the issue boils down to ownership of the native birds, animals and fish. The state says they belong to it.

The Apaches also raised their camping fees, vehicle fees, and hunting fees. In 1975, costs were \$75 for antelope and \$750 for elk, but this year fees will be \$200 and \$1500. Sportsmen were talking about a boycott.

In 1974, the Hopi and Kaibab Paiutes asked a U.S. District Court to stop the Arizona Game and Fish Department from interfering with their rights to regulate hunting and fishing on their nation lands.

That case involved Eric and Gibson Lalo, who are Hopi, who were hunting — with permission — on Kaibab-Paiute lands in the fall of 1972. A Game & Fish warden arrested them and confiscated their rifles. The men were fined \$55 each for non-possession of state licenses.

But U.S. District Court Judge Walter Craig ruled that any native person who is an enrolled member of any federally-recognized tribe is free from state jurisdiction on Indian lands.

Just as recently as this September, Arizona's Supreme Court again ruled in favor of the sovereignty of native nations, this time in a case involving a reservation created by executive order, rather than established by treaty. State law enforcement officials noted unhappily that the decision reaffirms that they have no jurisdiction on all 19.4-million acres of reservation, which would take up 27% of the state were these lands included in Arizona.

The same month, the New Mexico Supreme Court had arrived at the same conclusion, ruling that the arrest of a Navajo by Farmington city policemen who pursued him onto reservation land was illegal. The high court said the arrest violated the sovereignty of the Navajo Nation.

Police had tried to stop Johnson Benally for driving while intoxicated, reckless driving, and causing an accident. He eluded officers and fled through Farmington streets to the reservation, where police apprehended him. He was returned to Farmington, jailed and charged, then released on bond. Benally filed suit.

Mountain Utes Outside Colorado Law, Too

In 1874, the Mountain Utes signed a Treaty known as the Brunot Agreement with the United States, setting up a three-million-acre reservation. The Utes ceded over other lands which became part of the state of Colorado and other states.

Since that time, the Ute land has dwindled to 474,000 acres. On land which is still part of the original Ute territory, and on which other people now live, the Utes have never surrendered their sovereignty — but the state of Colorado has been enforcing its laws there. Since the original agreement recognized the Mountain Utes' right to hunt deer, elk, bear and mountain lion on their land, the state regulations are restricting.

Attorneys for the Mountain Utes have been conferring with Colorado Wildlife Commission and Division of Wildlife officials to work out the details of the restoration of Ute sovereign rights on Ute nation land.

[Thanks to Steve Auslander of the Arizona Star, Ed Meagher of the Los Angeles Times, United Press International, Wall Street Journal, Associated Press, Rick Lansing of the Phoenix Gazette, Bill Quimby of the Tucson Daily Citizen and DeWayne Smith for information used here.]

Platt said that a lot of people were prepared to move out of Apache County if Navajos came into power. "My family has been here for four generations," he observed. "But I'm already thinking about where I can go if they take over."

The white residents aren't happy with the ruling. One county official compared the problem he saw as the same as whites had in the South after the Civil War. "What's going to happen here is that the Indian voters are going to elect uneducated and inexperienced Navajos into county offices, and these people won't know from Adam how to run a county government," he said. "I predict it will be a real mess."

North American Sovereign Nations

— AKWESASNE NOTES
photo by Jean Francois

Tapson Mawere, representative of ZANU, the Zimbabwe liberation group fighting against the racist regime in Rhodesia, addresses the International Indian Treaty Council session at Yankton last summer as native peoples of North America began to turn to the world's family of nations for support in struggle to have their sovereignty recognized.



New York, N.Y.

The understanding that the native people of North America have their own sovereign nations, and nationalities of their own separate from that of the United States is gaining new strength and momentum. The idea that the history, culture, customs, traditions, values, language, and interests of the native nations are totally different from those of the imperialism of the United States has been receiving wide-spread support as evidenced in the work of the International Indian Treaty Conference. The work of the Conference is part of a continuing effort to take notice of the continuing colonial exploitation of native peoples by U.S. citizens, corporations, and government to the international community. Persons from over 90 native North American nations attended the last Conference on the Yankton Lakota nation lands in the Great Plains last June 14-20, as well as native persons from Australia, Puerto Rico, and Zimbabwe.

Since the first Treaty Conference was held in 1974, attended by several thousand persons, the International Indian Treaty Council office, headed by Jimmie Durham, has been working here near the United Nations to encourage other nations of the world to recognize the sovereignty of native nations.

The concept that native nations are sovereign is not new. As Jimmie Durham explains, "Initially, the United States did treat us as nations. It fought against us to try to take our lands. But because it was not winning those wars, the U.S. approached us to negotiate treaties. We were willing to do it, because no one wanted wars. In the treaty negotiations, the U.S. still spoke of us as nations. It knew very well what a treaty was: it was an agreement between two sovereign states, binding under international law. It signed and ratified treaties with us in the same way as it did treaties with France and England. There were very clearly defined national boundaries between our land and U.S. lands in these treaties."

However, with that understood, the implications are that a map of the United States a few years from now would appear very different than the U.S. map today — there would be holes and gaps, indicating places where native nations exist on their own sovereign soil. Each nation would, either alone or in coalition with others, negotiate its relationship with the United States or Canada.

The thrust of the Treaty Conference is for recognition of treaties by the U.S. as a means of restoring sovereign relations between the native nations and that country. Then, there will be moves to control exploitation, return control of native lands to the people of the native nations, and a return to forms of government appropriate to each nation.

But, as American Indian Movement leader Russell Means noted at the recent Conference sessions at Yankton, it seems useless to appeal to the U.S. or its legal system to restore its honor by honoring its treaties, and the North American native movement is overcoming its isolation and taking its place alongside the liberation forces of the world, and soliciting support and recognition from the third world countries in the United Nations.

Other native leaders are beginning to see the similarities in their struggle to control their lives and the resources of their nations with the struggles of other nations. There is still land, timber, minerals, petroleum, and water which belongs to native nations which the U.S. wants to exploit. As a result of the Yankton Conference, various nations are now collecting specific data on the exploitation of their resources to show the effects of colonization on their nations.

Standing Side By Side With Freedom Fighters

Vernon Bellecourt, AIM field director, told the Yankton Conference: "I recently had the chance to stand side-by-side with great freedom fighters from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Africa, and I realized that I was only meeting 'Indian people' from other nations — people of the earth, who bore the color of the earth."

Virginia Card of the Cherokee Nation told the 600 Conference delegates that recently she had the chance "to feel the pulse of the Palestinians, Nambians, and Zimbabweans. Our struggle is the same!" Others spoke of how recent successes of liberation struggles in Africa and southeast Asia have greatly encouraged them in their struggle for nationhood.

Members of 25 Native American Solidarity Committee chapters invited to the Conference took an active role in workshops.

Tapson Mawere, representative of ZANU, the Zimbabwe liberation group fighting against the racist Rhodesian regime, told the conference, "We would like to share in every possible way your struggle. These struggles are fought on many fronts. All of us cannot play the same role. There are many roles." He noted that his own experiences were painfully similar to that of North American native people. Mawere said "the missionaries took our culture from us. They set up schools. I went to a missionary school — the gun made us lose our land, the Bible made us lose our culture."

Oren Lyons, a royaner of the Onondaga Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy, said that the "civil rights they talk about fall short of any kind of civil rights of human beings. You just keep defining and defining and you keep forgetting things. We have never written our laws — common or natural law is understood and

remains the same. Therefore, we will continue to use our own laws which stress the freedom of the individual as most important."

Iroquois delegates have been seeking international recognition for more than a century, and in the 1920s, Deskaheh took his case to the old League of Nations. [His story is told in an AKWESASNE NOTES pamphlet, "Deskaheh", available for 50 cents.] The Hopi have been going to the UN for more than a decade. But the widespread effort to seek support from the international community grew out of the siege on Wounded Knee in 1973.

Two native people of Australia spoke of their own struggle. Sheryl Buchanan said that "aboriginal people of the world have been subject to the violent intervention of the white man. We have begun to fight for freedom and we look to our spiritual leaders to keep us on the right path for the people. It is our responsibility to stop the rape of our mother. We have nothing to fear, for we were born on the land and will go back to the land."

In speaking of the need for unity if native people will regain sovereign status, John Trudell, a leader of the American Indian Movement, said, "The commitment of our people must be 100%, for without a struggle, we will have nothing."

It is difficult for most U.S. people to comprehend the native nations' struggle for sovereignty. As nation lands were stolen, colonized and exploited, that part of U.S. history was kept obscured or presented under misleading labels like "Progress" or "Economic Development". The struggle of native people was ignored in the media, and instead, the Hollywood stereotype was marketed throughout the world, portraying native people as the bad guys in a world which had never really existed. Heroic curios like Jim Thorpe or Ira Hays were held out as contemporary models.

"There is a common mistaken belief," Jimmie Durham points out, that a century ago, native people "fought imperialism with guns, and then we went to sleep until the 1960s and reappeared with a new set of demands for national liberation — as though our history had no continuity. This is false. We've been fighting armed struggles off and on in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s — and also incredible legal battles." The "mistaken belief", of course, was fostered by media failure to report what really was happening. At the same time, the media failed to report the oppressive tactics of government and citizens. The same network which

International Indian Treaty Council
Sovereignty
Iroquois Confederacy

focused on Kent State and the Patty Hearst trial ignored the murders of scores of Lakota people at Pine Ridge — that is, until two FBI agents were killed. Then, the silence was broken to splash the news all over front pages and television screens. However, even then no background was given to place the incident in its context, leaving puzzled U.S. citizens wondering about this outbreak of "lawlessness" among contented Indians.

When FBI and Army troops swarmed over Pine Ridge in helicopters and armored personnel carriers, armed to the teeth with automatic weapons and regularly violating ordinary human and civil rights, this invasion was ignored and unreported. When Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted of the slaying of the FBI agents, in a trial which brought out massive evidence of misconduct by the U.S. Government, the news was carried in only a few papers.

Jimmy Durham pointed out that in addition to the usual tactics of repression such as happened with the Black Panther Party, native nations have to overcome additional obstacles posed by the structure of colonialism itself — geographical isolation of one nation from another, or even parts of a single nation from each other, as well as the puppet government structures imposed by the BIA, for examples.

If the treaties were upheld with the Oglala Lakota alone, that nation would own at least 50 million acres in land now claimed by parts of five states, and it would become holder of the world's second largest uranium reserves, as well as vast mineral, oil, water and timber resources.

Socialists outside of the native struggle believe that the U.S. will never capitulate to the demands of native nations, and that unless there is a socialist revolution in the U.S., there will not be any real self-determination. The question implied for native people is whether they should become involved in that struggle, or whether their own struggle for survival and cultural integrity is demanding enough, and any change to be brought in the U.S. Government will have to be brought about by less-oppressed people already a part of that system.

The Treaty Conference's Red Paper

One result of the Conference was the "Red Paper", which includes the following:

"American Indians belong to separate, sovereign nations in North America. Collectively and individually we have a nationality of our own which is separate from that of the United States. Our history, culture, customs, traditions, values and interests are totally different from those of the imperialist United States. . .

"Indian people have maintained their culture, their traditional institutions and traditional governments. As their desire to break out of the chains of United States colonialism has grown, so have the repressive measures used by the United States Government to enforce its colonial will . . .

"The United States has unilaterally determined that it has the prerogative of abrogating, repealing, changing, and nullifying treaties. . .



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Jean-Francois Jimmie Durham at the Treaty Conference

"Since 1871, when the U.S. Government decreed that Indian Nations were no longer to be treated as sovereign, that Government has done everything in its power to crush the independence and self-determination forces within the Indian people," the Red Paper said. "Today, the U.S. imposes its colonial rule over all aspects of Indian life. From birth to death, the Indian individual and nation are subject to the totalitarian authority of the United States.

"We as nations of Indian People have exclusive control of our national resources. We will use these resources to provide food and livelihood for our people, for trade and economic development in non-capitalist, non-exploitative or ecologically destructive methods pursuant to our traditional values," the Red Paper went on to say.

Noting that such major corporations as Peabody Coal, Amex, Standard, Shell and Gulf Oil were involved in exploiting native resources, the Treaty Conference said it would apply for membership in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] in order to maintain their sovereignty and obtain control of their land and resources. It was expected too that OPEC would be able to offer technical and legal advice and assistance.

The Red Paper was left in a preliminary draft form for finishing by selected experts from the international fields of politics, economics and law. Upon completion of the document, it will be presented to selected nations in various parts of the world to seek support and aid in economics, politics and law.

The Red Paper is now about twelve pages long, containing many historical facts and legal arguments. It is a persuasive document concerning colonization of native nations and upholding their right to sovereignty. Those working on the document hoped to present it to the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Sri Lanka in August, and then to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to all pertinent commissions and committees of the UN.

The work of bringing international attention to the situation of native nations is done by the Indian Treaty Council Office at 777 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. This office is manned by Jimmie Durham and a small staff which contacts foreign delegations, members of the UN Human Rights Commission, and members of the Commission on Decolonization. The Council has applied for official "Non-Governmental Organization" [NGO] status, a position which the Palestinian Liberation Organization holds. Durham and others have traveled to several international meetings to gain support of foreign officials.



— Jean Francois

The Case For Sovereignty Taken To Philadelphia

The UN Commission on Racism and Decolonization has agreed to sponsor a conference on native peoples next September, 1977.

This year's Yankton Conference has mandated the Treaty Office to seek admission to several world organizations, including OPEC, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], the World Health Organization [WHO] and the International Court of Justice.

The 1868 Treaty between the U.S. and the Sioux Nation will be submitted to various nations in the world with a request that it be placed in their archives of international agreements and laws." Once the 1868 Sioux Treaty is understood, it is felt, other treaties can also be discussed and rectified.

Wounded Knee Cases Argue Sovereignty

Attorney John Thorne, who represented 65 persons charged with crimes during the siege, broached the jurisdictional issue when he argued for dismissal on the grounds that the alleged crimes were committed on the Pine Ridge Lakota nation lands, where, by treaty rights, only the Lakota have jurisdiction.

"By analogy," says Thorne, "if the United States cannot unilaterally pass a law giving U.S. courts jurisdiction over a French person for an alleged crime committed in France, they most certainly could not get jurisdiction over Lakota for an alleged crime committed within the Lakota homeland."

Thorne argued during an eleven-day hearing before U.S. District Judge Warren Urbom in January, 1975, that "a nation can acquire jurisdiction over an area of land in three ways — discovery, conquest, or agreement." He established that it couldn't be discovery — the native nations were clearly here first. He also established, with uncontested expert testimony, that in the case of the Sioux Nation, it was the U.S. Government that sought out the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty from a position of weakness, not conquest. Finally, and most important, he argued that the 1868 Treaty did not constitute an "agreement" by the Lakota to cede their sovereignty to the U.S. On the contrary, he said, the treaty itself clearly reserves jurisdiction over crimes on Lakota territory to the Lakota government.

Thorne acknowledged that while Anglo-European law permits one party of a treaty to unilaterally abrogate the agreement by virtue of superior strength — in which case the entire agreement is null and void — the Lakota signers of the 1868 Treaty understood it to represent an inviolate agreement between two sovereign nations, and the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that treaties with native nations must be legally interpreted as the native people who signed them understood them.

Judge Urbom ruled against the motion, citing "an unbroken line of decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court" which he felt compelled to follow. He said that



whether native nations would ever get the U.S. to recognize their sovereignty was dependent upon "actions of the Congress and the President and not of the courts."

Referring to hundreds of pages of oral history given in testimony by native witnesses, Urbom concluded, "It is an ugly history. White Americans may retch at the recollection of it. They may also ask themselves questions. How much of the sins of our forefathers must we rightly bear? What precisely do we do now? Shall we pretend that history never was? Can we restore the disemboweled or push the waters of the river upstream to where they used to be?"

The 8th Circuit Court of Appeal upheld Urbom's decision, and the case has been appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

One of the difficulties in raising support in the international community of nations is that many Third World nations and European nations receive vast amounts of economic and military aid from the U.S. However, there is hope that the Treaty Conference will be able to present its case before the UN Commission on Racism and the UN Committee on Colonization, as well as seeking "Non-Governmental Organization" status which it regards as an important political step.

Recently Madonna Gilbert was in Ireland, where she recounted the history of the struggle for survival. She made an urgent appeal for international support. Gilbert is a Lakota from Cheyenne River nation lands, active in the occupation of Alcatraz, the American Indian Movement, and in the new Survival School system. The U.S. Embassy declined an invitation to send a representative to hear Gilbert's speech at a meeting sponsored by Sinn Fein, an Irish liberation group. She was given a civic reception in Belfast, and presented with a key to the city by the mayor, and gifts from the Long Kesh concentration camp.

"The Third World peoples are on the move all over the globe, and we're part of that," Gilbert told standing-room-only audiences. "For it's going to come — imperialism is dying, but in its death struggle, it's taking many people with it." She said international support was needed so that native people, living in the "bowels of the giant," wouldn't be eliminated as that giant died and sank.

Awakening the Family of Nations

Vern Bellecourt attended the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico which was held in Cuba in September, 1975. He read a statement which was received with a standing ovation.



The compelling force behind all these moves is the persistent belief and knowledge that the present U.S. domination over native lands violates both United States and international law.

The image of native peoples as colonized peoples has led a growing body of activists to view their condition as synonymous with the non-aligned Third World nations, most of which only recently emerged from behind the colonial cloak.

Wounded Knee
Treaty Conference's Red Paper
United Nations



On July 26, at the Institute for the Development of Indian Law offices in Washington, D.C., native people met with reporters of the United Nations on a fact-finding trip to gather information for the "Study of the Problems of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations." UN rapporteurs were Guatemalan Ambassador José R. Martínez Cobo and Augusto Díaz

United Nations investigate

of the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, of the Commission on Human Rights, of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

In 1965, the UN initiated its first world-wide comprehensive study on racial discrimination, which it published in a 1970 report. That provided enough indication of problem areas that the UN determined the need to seek further information about discriminatory practices against indigenous people.

The UN reporters "fact-finding trip" had been scheduled for them by the State Department through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the American Indian Law Center in Albuquerque, N.M., and the IDIL visit was scheduled later on short notice. Present for the meeting

were Tim Coulter, acting director of the Institute; Oren Lyons, a royaner of the Iroquois Confederacy; Charles Wheellock, Oneida Nation, and Mike Myers, Seneca Nation; Louis Bad Wound, Oglala Lakota Nation; Charles Edwards of the Alaskan Inuit, and Jimmie Durham of the Treaty Council.

The work of the special UN commission first came to light in 1974 when it was learned that the United States Government had the Bureau of Indian Affairs draw up answers to a UN questionnaire on "discrimination of indigenous population" without any consultation or input from the indigenous people. When the U.S. response was made public, five native organizations joined in a coalition to compose an "American Indian Response to the Response of the United States

UNITED NATIONS WANTS THE TRUTH OF THE NATIONS OF AMERICA

[When a special United Nations fact-finding team came to the United States to investigate treatment of the "indigenous population", they were given a letter from two representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy, Charles Wheellock, Oneida Nation, and Mike Myers of the Seneca Nation. Extracts from the letter, dated July 26, 1976, are reprinted here.]

On behalf of our people, we welcome your Commission to our lands. . .

The present status of the Native Peoples of the Americas is virtually unknown to most peoples of the world. The various governments that control our lives have continuously distorted the facts surrounding our existence. Nowhere is it told that our very existence is still under constant attack. . .

Your visit comes at a time when the Native Peoples existence hangs in a very delicate balance. In many areas, the Native Peoples have already disappeared as a form of Mankind. Throughout, the Native Peoples hang on by a very thin thread, and the Western governments continue to hack away at that existence. . .

As a people, we urgently need the help of the international community, but the international community must give help that is based in a commitment to the continuance of all forms of Mankind. . .

No people wish to be annihilated, and they will constantly struggle against any attempts to destroy them. Since the first European touched our lands, the Way of Life that they brought has constantly sought our destruction. Many of our Nations have completely vanished from the face of the Earth. Many remain only as biological remnants of their former selves. But there are still pockets of resistance, pockets where the people are struggling to carry on their Ways of Life.

One such pocket is the Houdinisionne, better known to the world as the "Iroquois" or the "Six Nations". Our people still persevere, but only by one of those thin threads we spoke of earlier. Since we have had one of the longest exposures to Western civilization, this paper will primarily discuss our experiences and struggles. It must be kept in mind that whatever occurred with us also has occurred to other nations. For clarity, we will concentrate on the 20th Century.

There has already been a great deal of documenting about the other periods. A problem with that documentation is that it leads the reader to believe that the atrocities occurred only in the past. This couldn't be further from the truth

LETTER FROM THE LAKOTA TREATY COUNCIL

We, the native Peoples of this continent, individually and collectively reject the patently false assertions that we are citizens of the United States of America. We are citizens of our respective native Nations.

Respect for human dignity and the right to govern our own destiny as the Creator dictated, mandates that we pursue our quest for freedom in ALL political arenas.

— 20th Century attacks are much more devastating to Natural World peoples.

In order to understand the Houdinisionne, you must first realize that we do not view the world in the same context as other peoples of the world. We do not have any concept of linear time frames, we do not see ourselves in domination of, or in the selfish exploitation of other living things. Our culture never devoted much time to material development or gratification. Instead, we view ourselves as an integral part of the Creation. Our primary purpose is to strive for peace, harmony, and balance with all the living things of the earth. Our languages define the world as an extended family, and our relationship to the universe is in the form of a relative. The cycles of our lives are punctuated by times of Thanksgiving. At these times, we honor the life forms around us. We use these times to remind ourselves of our roles and position within the universe. Mixed with the gaiety of these occasions is sadness, a sadness for the other life forms that give up their lives for our survival. We see ourselves as being in constant debt to the other living things. The only way we repay this debt is when we die. At the time of our death, we give back all the things we have taken from our Mother the Earth and our relatives. With our burial, we give our full share to the continuation of the cycles of life. Through our culture we are given a vision that all things are sacred, and that each has an autonomy that is not to be violated. These are but two principles that have never existed in Western civilization.

In the mid 1500s, the Houdinisionne had their first contact with Western peoples. We began our first structured relationship with the Dutch in 1650. This first treaty is called the Two Row Wampum Belt. This treaty sets down the conditions for international and intercultural exchange and contact. Through this treaty, we acknowledge the existence of the Europeans' Way of Life, set conditions for interaction, and establish strong principles to discourage interference with each other's government, religion, and other internal affairs. These very same principles were carried over to our relationships with the French, British, and later the Americans. The American era has been marked with continued encroachment into every level of our lives, and the constant attempt to discontinue us as Nations. These early contacts must also be examined in the light of the geno-

cidal onslaught that occurs for the next 400 years. In that light, it becomes obvious that the Western peoples never attempted to abide by any agreement.

In this 20th Century, the international community must define its role in relation to the oppressions of Natural World peoples, and the ways that it can bring an end to such practices. The various treaties and agreements are fully within the scope of international investigation. Also, within that scope are our natural rights to exist as a unique life form.

Not only do the political questions need to be raised and answered, but questions concerning the rights of people to follow their original Ways of Life need to be raised and answered. It has clearly been a Western priority to end "the Indian Problem". That end is very close as we watch the 20th Century draw to a close. The indigenous voices, in colonized lands, must be heard in the world forum. The destruction of these peoples is no longer the responsibility of one government. If, and when, it occurs, it is the responsibility of the world community. . . .

In attempting this discussion on the practices of the 20th Century, we will review legislation, policies, and native reaction. Two pieces of 19th Century legislation must be kept in mind — they are the General Allotment Act of 1887, and 25 USC 71 of 1871. In 1871, Congress tacked a rider on an appropriations bill. This rider states, "No Indian Nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; but no obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March 3, 1871, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired."

With this short phrase, the United States shifts from international relations to the beginning of a new era. That new era can best be summed up as "assimilation". The General Allotment Act of 1887 was passed to "break up the tribal mass". This act provided for the parcelling out of land to individuals. Its first effect is to greatly reduce the amount of native land holdings. Secondly, it institutionalizes the alien concept of individual land ownership. In later years, the individually held lands have become largely alienated from their holders.

The early part of the 20th Century is marked with an increased effort to

educate the native peoples. By the thousands, they are sent hundreds, even thousands of miles to attend schools. The obvious policy is to detach the impressionable young from their native environments, to condition and socialize them into Western habits. Both Canada and the U.S. gave the missionaries total encouragement to establish more mission schools. Subtly, we are being told that we still are not "civilized" nor do we have souls. On a very subversive level, we are being indoctrinated to have only a Western concept of history. With such a concept, we could be moved much faster into the "mainstream". For the majority of native peoples, the boarding and mission schools were an experience in terror. The atrocities and deprivation of these institutions is well documented, and need to be studied to measure the impact on native nations.

In 1924, the United States, [and later,] Canada arbitrarily made native peoples citizens of their countries. On the surface, this would appear to be a humane attempt to bring Native Peoples to an equal position within the "mainstream". The reality is quite different. . . . Research into the Indian Act of Canada and the laws of the U.S. will show that the Native Peoples were, and continue to be dominated in such a way that they might as well not exist. The legal systems maintain control of the lands, waters, resources and the lives of the peoples.

On an international level, what nation can arbitrarily convert a whole people's citizenship to that of another nation? The thinking that allows this to occur is of the most racist sort. It is a thinking that says that we have no right to be of the race or nationality we were born into. In our perception of the world, race and nationality are synonymous with culture and Way of Life. The Houdinisionne rejected this incursion into our sovereignty. To this day, we do not see ourselves as subjects of another government. It is also viewed as a very blatant attempt to abrogate the treaties between us and the two governments.

In 1934, the Congress of the U.S. passed the Indian Reorganization Act [IRA]. This law gives the Secretary of the Interior the power to alter native governments — Canada had been carrying on this same practice since [1884]. The legislation reads as though the native peoples would be changing government to gain "federal recognition". In reality, what was created were governments that could be more easily controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]. Less than one-

are sovereign people who have received our mandates from the Creator, and we have not deviated nor have we forgotten the Original Instructions.

It is indefensible to state that men or a society of men who have advanced technology have the right to dictate the destiny of other men. Industrial states of the world have created conditions whereby mankind itself faces extinction. The devastating effects which industrialization leaves behind is in itself unacceptable to the native Peoples of this continent. The industrial states in their advances for material comfort and

their avaristic policies which dictate the fulfillment of these industrial desires creates conditions of exploitation and conquest of people who are less technologically advanced. In their quest for technological advancement, they have failed to advance in this social and humanistic world. The failure to advance in the humanities will be the destruction of their godless industrial society.

Lakota Treaty Council
Iroquois Confederacy
Sovereignty

problems of discrimination

of America". These groups were the American Indian Law Center, the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, the Housing Assistance Council, the National Indian Leadership Training Program, and the National Indian Youth Council.

"It is understandable that the governments answering this questionnaire would be anxious to show their respective countries in the best possible light," the editor of the *American Indian Law Newsletter* wrote about the U.S. reply to the UN. "The response of the United States of America, however, is an embarrassment to a free society. Undoubtedly other countries were equally lacking in candor in their responses. But truth here is measured by the actual conditions of the indigenous peoples relative to the

country in which they are found, by the relative amount of lies told by other governments to mislead the world community."

When the UN representatives wished to make a personal investigation, they requested the U.S. Government to grant them "official visitor status" and to defray expenses of the trip. The U.S. refused both requests.

The UN commission says it hopes that the outcome of the study is to arrive at a supplement to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to especially apply to the situation of indigenous populations. The supplement would cover group rights, as separate from individual rights, a subject not now covered in the Declaration.

The Institute submitted to the UN reporters copies of the *American Indian Journal* of the Institute, copies of AKWESASNE NOTES, Vine Deloria's book, *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties*, and copies of the FBI teletypes circulated throughout the U.S. to create alarm among the populace, and to discredit and bring violence upon the American Indian Movement.



third [of the people] of any nation that accepted the change voted for the new government. It is documented that the BIA counted those who refused to vote as a "yes". What now exists are colonial regimes that further non-native interests on the native lands.

If we go back to the international format, no nation has the right to legislate governmental change for another nation. The international parallels to the IRA are the U.S.-sponsored regimes in South Korea, the Philippines, Panama Canal Zone, etc. In 1973, the Sioux People were forced into a confrontation with the regime occupying their territory. The U.S. response was a massive military assault, carried out in support of the colonial regime. The Houdinisionne position of the IRA was complete rejection on the basis of it being a violation of the Two Row Wampum and other treaties with the U.S.

In 1948 and 1950, [the U.S. Congress conferred criminal and civil jurisdiction over the Houdinisionne territories to the State of New York [25 USC 232 and 233]. Both of these laws were passed over the unanimous objections of the Houdinisionne. According to Article 7 of the 1794 Canadaigua Treaty, such conferring cannot occur without bilateral concurrence. The Congressional Record will show that they did not have such bilateral concurrence. These two laws paved the way for passage of Public Law 280, which is the conferring of criminal/civil jurisdictions to several western U.S. states. At present, we are still locked in a struggle to relieve this incursion.

In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Bill was passed. This bill supposedly passed to bring about tribal government reform. At best, the bill exists as an appeasement to native people's demands for protection from the IRA governments. Another aspect of the bill is that it affects all native governments. Through its enactment, the U.S. has attempted to spread its influence into the territories that did not accept the IRA in 1934. The Houdinisionne notified Congress that this law would have no effect in our territories, and that it too constitutes a treaty violation.

From both movements, the native Peoples have been able to draw new definitions about their existence with Western peoples. Both movements have resulted in new forms of Western oppression. The [U.S.] created the American Indian Policy Review Commission [AIPRC], the Canadians issued

their White Paper Policy. There has been a marked increase in the flow of federal monies to native peoples. This flow can be seen as an attempt to buy an appeasement from the native Peoples. All the levels of the governmental bureaucracy are involved in the oppression of native Peoples.

The resistance of native Peoples has taken a variety of forms during the years of [U.S.] development. Easy contact between the native and non-native was marked by trust-agreement treaties. However, over the years, the native learned that economic and political development must on occasion be placed above trust agreements and whatever was associated with that arrangement. The revitalized physical resistance reclamation of native lands illegally occupied - Alcatraz, Ft. Lawton, Wounded Knee II [1973], the novitiate in northern Wisconsin, Ganieneh in New York State - all pertain to treaty issues, land issues. . .

This native movement is the stand of a new Indian with an old spirit. The issue of land can not longer be ignored nor can the legal responsibility to assure native People their land rights. The native people petition, not to abuse their treaty rights, but rather we ask that we have full use of them.

For many years, various organizations have fought for full civil rights of native People of the United States and Canada. However, the native People fall into a different category of rights jurisdiction, due to their unique legal status in relationship to the U.S. Government. The American Indian Movement has recognized this unique relationship, and since its formation in July, 1968, in the urban Indian community of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has been at the front of the Indian struggle for self-determination, sovereignty, and justice. A well-organized attempt to discredit the leadership and cloud the goals and objectives of this Indian organization has been constructed with the cooperation of the national and state press, the United States Government and its judicial and law enforcement branches and agencies (Federal Bureau of Investigation, BIA Police, the various branches of military which use Indian communities as domestic testing grounds for war game tactics, and numerous other agencies in both state and local governments.) The methodology utilized has ranged in extent from first-degree murder of Indian activists to continual harassment of family and friends of Indian leadership. The court system has been utilized as a means of framing

individuals and detaining them from their communities' struggle for justice and comprehension of their unique rights under law.

In 1971, [the U.S.] Congress passed the Indian Education Act. This Act provides increased federal monies for the education of native children. It also allows for a token native input into Western education institutions. The main point to be viewed is the [U.S.] persistence at assimilation. Still, in the 1970s, we have to experience an expansion of control over our children. The policy of deculturalization, through education, remains unchanged in 200 years. Coupled with the various state education laws, there continues a persistent pattern of denying native Peoples the right to educate their own outside of Western criteria.

Added to the legislative assaults are the governmental policies. These policies have varied from administration to administration, but the consistent theme of assimilation continues. In Canada, the primary policy has been to "Canadianize" native Peoples. The U.S. had to shift from an Indian War policy to an "Americanization" policy. The contrasts of the two countries can be likened to the Las Casas/Sepulveda debates of the 1600s. By either methodology the concept is racist and genocidal. Both have to be continuously challenged by native Peoples.

In the 1950s, the Eisenhower Administration embarked on a policy of Termination. This was a full-scale attempt to eradicate the native land base, and to force the native peoples under the same local and state laws that [U.S. citizens] follow. This same policy was adopted in Canada in 1969 through the White Paper Policy on Indian Affairs issued by Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs.

The outcry from native Nations was such that the U.S. had to abandon this policy. Before abandonment, several native land areas were terminated. One such people were the Menominee Nation. Their struggle should be studied, and the effects of such a policy will emerge in their true context.

During the Kennedy Administration, we have experienced a Relocation policy. Basically, this policy made available millions of dollars to encourage the movement of native peoples from their land bases. It helped create a drastic upsurge in the [native] urban populations. Our peoples now are faced with the spectre of ghetto existence. It is from such an existence that we can view the rise of the American Indian Move-

ment [AIM]. From the ghetto existence has come much of the leadership in today's struggles.

In 1968, native Peoples occupied Alcatraz. In the same year, in Alberta, Canada, Chief Robert Smallboy led his People to sanctuary in the Rocky Mountains. These two moves signify the beginning of a renewed native resistance in the 20th Century. Alcatraz was politically militant. Smallboy was a spiritual militancy. Both movements dovetail at Wounded Knee '73.



Another factor commonly misunderstood by the general public is that the movement has a violent orientation. The membership and support organizations represent a variety of economic and social backgrounds. However, for political reasons, they cannot always voice their opinions, for the discussion of native nationalistic sovereignty and related rights has serious political consequences in the United States and Canada. The violence which has been associated has been blown out of proportion by the press and the general public has accepted this coverage as true, because of the violent nature of their home environment and civilization. . . In this year of [the U.S.] Bicentennial, the native Peoples are drawing closer to a realization of their demands. What is needed to help is the pressure of the international communities. What we can teach the world is: do not follow the [U.S.] model of indigenous oppression. The world can learn from this travesty of justice, and perhaps create an overall condition where all Peoples can live out their lives being what they were born.

Even now industrial states of the world are concentrating their efforts to exploit the last unexploited area which is inhabited by natives of this continent, namely the Mattegrosso and other similar situated areas.

World attention must focus on the plight of the natives of this country. Respect for human life and the right to live must also include the native Peoples of this continent. The brutalizing effects of genocide and colonization must be challenged with truth and action. Respect for man and his basic beliefs must be reinstituted worldwide. Man's basic

concept of himself and his relationship to man and the Creator must be strengthened whereby respect for our brother's visions would become reality.



Only in this way would we grow as a prosperous people - not materialistically, but as spiritual human beings.

When the industrial states of the world

are made to realize the wrongs of their policies and the sufferings which have been visited upon mankind and they are willing to sincerely institute human-

itarian policies which will truly benefit mankind, we, the native Peoples of this continent, will be there to help and instruct the peoples of the world as to

the true meaning of the brotherhood of man and the respect for the Creator and his creations. This will be so, for this is what our prophecies say we must do. Hecetu-yelo.

For, and in behalf of the Lakota Treaty Council,

Bad Wound
A Headman
Oglala Lakota Nation

United Nations
Public Law 280
Termination Policies

THE LAST HURRAH



— Auth in the Philadelphia Inquirer
"What are we planning for the Bicentennial?"

A Bicentennial Wrap-up

Washington, D.C.

The Bicentennial Year of the United States of America was ushered in in Chicago by a homicide of an unidentified native man, found with a knife in his chest on a skid-row street. And one of the last events of the year was a gala rodeo for native people which the U.S. Bicentennial Commission promoted with much enthusiasm and cash in Salt Lake City.

In between, quite a few things happened.

Seminole and Miccosukee people got all dressed up to entertain the Florida Senate, some of whose members wore bright Seminole jackets for the occasion.

Slippery Rock, Pa., also honored the native people by issuing an emblem of a sprawling warrior landing on his bumper [get it? Slippery Rock?] for the amusement of racist members of its populace.

An enterprising Baltimore, Maryland, politician arranged to have a group of Apaches flown in from Arizona, where for \$3 per hour they put on a show for the kiddies, demonstrating the construction of a wickiup shelter in the daytime, and bedding down for the night in the Lord Baltimore Hotel. The city recovered its costs by charging admission. The site of the display: at the city zoo, of course.

Efforts were made again in the Bicentennial Year to get back Jim Thorpe's Olympic medals which a committee denied him in 1913, while in Papago Country, Arizonans for Quality Environment caused the Department of Interior to halt work on a Papago bicentennial plaza because it would have "negative effects" on the nearby Mission San Xavier considered by colonialists as a National Historic Landmark.

Morris Thompson, then U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, told the nation that the BIA would spend the Bicentennial year "highlighting some of the positive aspects of our lives," only to find by the end of the year that the American Indian Policy Review Commission was recommending that the BIA be abolished.

In Rome, New York, the Oneida Nation was finally recognized after 200 years for its role in helping the colonists during the Revolutionary War. The story will be inscribed for posterity on the "Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier" that the city constructed for its big 1976 project. Laconically, Chief Ray Elm told the press, "During this Bicentennial observance, many Indians are asking what we are celebrating. Now I can return to my people and tell them this."

Those who had not yet grabbed up their share of native land were offered 25 square feet of "fine Arizona ranchland" by "Bicentennial Estates, Inc.," to anyone who bought for \$12.50 "genuine reproductions" of the U.S. Constitution, Declaration of Independence, and Bill of Rights.

Or there was Wayne Chattin, a Blackfoot hired by the Bicentennial Administration to gain acceptance of native peoples of the big celebration. According to the official Bicentennial Administration publication, Chattin's staff carried the line to doubters that Indians did too "have something to celebrate in that you have survived."

Well, at least some survived. And for those who didn't, like Ishi's Yahi People in California, there would be a Bicentennial monument to show America really cares. Ishi was the last surviving Yahi, and he died in the San Francisco Museum of Anthropology.

Things haven't changed much in the last 100 years, it seems. At the U.S. Centennial observance in 1876, the Smithsonian Institution looked for native people to fit a thirteen-point check-list to give the textbook image of native peoples. Especially, the Smithsonian demanded that those it brought to Philadelphia "be able to speak English, have a pleasant disposition, be the cleanest and finest looking." In addition, they were expected to have "a clean child, a dog and a pony."

"Partly civilized" people were not welcome.

However, the scheduled exhibition didn't come off when the BIA and Congress rejected the idea because of "high costs." But later, when native peoples asked if they could go to Philadelphia on their own, the word went out that "no Indians will be permitted to leave the reservations to go to the Centennial without authority from Congress."

Just the same, there was "Indian input" into the Centennial — that came on June 25, 1876, when General Custer marched his troops of the Seventh Cavalry into the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

The Trail of Self-Determination

The most ambitious Bicentennial Year Project for native people — and one of the most meaningful — was the Trail of Self-Determination. This caravan set out from the Pacific Coast early this year on a slow journey to the capital of the U.S., not to celebrate the Bicentennial, but to get the answer of the U.S. Government to the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties left in Washington November, 1972, when the BIA headquarters was occupied.

Just as the 1972 caravan experienced closed doors and missing officials unwilling to respond to the truths the native delegation represented, so the 1976 group was carefully ignored, excepting by security officials. Forty-seven persons were arrested in July at the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters, the place where the trust of the U.S. is exercised for native peoples. Most of those arrested were women and children.

According to a spokesman for the group, they had spent the day touring the capital, visiting the White House and the Lincoln Memorial. In the afternoon, they went to the BIA building and requested a tour.

When the group arrived, they found the front doors being locked by security guards, so they went to the back door where other officers were frantically fumbling with chains, keys and locks in an attempt to secure the building.

At this point, Ramona Bennett, head of the Puyallup Nation Council, councilmember Suzette Mills, and Caleb Shields, member of the Fort Peck Council, showed their identification, but still they were refused admission. Meanwhile, the kids were taking down the U.S. flag, and ran it back up the flagpole upside down, the international signal of distress, signifying that their nations were in serious trouble. But the police quickly restored law and order by running out, saluting the flag, restoring it to right-side-up, and posting guards to protect the dignity of their emblem.

Dennis Ickes, undersecretary of Interior, came down to tell the group they could tour but only in groups of five. When they refused that deal, they were told they had ten minutes to get off the property or be arrested as trespassers. Some of the Federal Protection Service police, feeling crowded, began beating the group with clubs, handcuffing them, and throwing them bodily into wagons to be transported to jail. Others were arrested while they stood in the parking lot.



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Jean Francois
Part of the delegation of native Peoples in the July 4th Coalition March in Philadelphia

The nerves of the BIA officials apparently calmed down the following day, and charges were dropped.

The group arrested included two men, 15 teenage boys, and 30 women and small children. The group was split up and housed in different jails throughout the city.

Later, the student body at Howard University, a predominately black college in the District of Columbia, voted to pressure the college administration to offering hospitality to the caravan, including two

daily meals in the cafeteria. The Caravan had been denied permission to camp on the campus of Catholic University of America, and the University of Maryland threatened trespassing charges if the caravan should come there.

Supporters from El Centro de la Raza in Seattle accompanied the Caravan throughout its tour.

In Pennsylvania, the Trail had been met hospitably by Governor Milton Shapp, and an agricultural fair building was turned over to them for their encampment. It seemed that the further east the delegation went, hostility it had met in the West changed to curiosity.

"They come into our tents and want to touch us to see if we are real. They want us to cut a piece of our hair to give to them," one Trail member complained.

The Trail of Self-Determination had met up with the Bicentennial Wagon Train at its winter stopover at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, and then accompanied it across the country to the Mississippi River, where the wagon-train cheated a bit and loaded onto barges to move across inland waterways to Pennsylvania. The Trail organizers described their presence as a "non-violent education experience". The core of the project came from the Survival of American Indians Association, long active in defense of fishing rights for the Pacific Peoples.

"We are trying to raise people's consciousness in a dignified way," said Ernie Guindon, of SAIA. "We do not want to be met by riot squads." However, the group found heavy police surveillance throughout its journey.

As the caravan had left Washington State, it held a press conference, recalling that four years previously, a similar press meeting had been held to announce the Trail of Broken Treaties. "Those who have bothered to listen to the message of Indian People since that October day in 1972, know now that the U.S. Government has no intention of solving the basic problems of white Americans, much less Indian People," they told the journalists.

"Our first objective is to go from village to town to city to inform the American People what all Indian people know — that with every passing day, the Government takes away a little more of our freedom and replaces it with fear, deprivation, and death," Suzette Mills said on behalf of the caravan.

Because of the possibility of provocateurs or irresponsible supporters, the Trail people said they were determined that their current effort "shall be as disciplined as it is demanding, while being neither oppressively marshaled nor obtrusively militant. It shall be carefully controlled, while remaining subject to the best influences of creativity in action and thought generated among the Indian participants and our non-Indian support." Despite this, officials met the Trail all along the way as though they were a foreign invasion. When they arrived at Fort Laramie, the peaceful group was met by a hundred state agents from Wyoming, Colorado and Nebraska, as well as narcotics agents from Texas and fully-trained SWAT squads. The ever-present Federal agents had persuaded the local police to wear protective flak-jackets while on patrol and spread the alarm among the local populace that

Indians were coming to Fort Laramie to burn, pillage, attack and rape the townspeople. Three miles away, 1,000 National Guardsmen were standing-by on 24-hour alert. Even women leaving the encampment to do laundry were followed by several unmarked police cars.

A group of officials surrounded the leadership of the Trail while they were making phone calls, and were told they were unwelcome in Fort Laramie and were asked to leave the following day — by contrast, the

Bicentennial Wagon Train had been allowed to camp in the same location for a four-month period prior to the arrival of the Trail caravan. Eventually, fears lessened and the caravan was allowed to remain a short time longer, and eventually became well received by a large percentage of the townspeople.

Although there were only about 20 persons starting the Trail, numbers swelled to nearly 200 as the caravan moved across the country. Among the participants was Ida Stuntz Kills Right, widow of Little Joe Kills Right, killed when an army of police surrounded the encampment where he was living at Oglala on Pine Ridge Lakota Nation lands after two FBI agents had been slain nearby. His death has never been investigated.

Along the way, the message remained constant: "We're never, ever going to be part of this melting pot, this American society." Sid Mills would tell reporters, passers-by, anyone who would listen: "We have treaties. We have a land base. We have our own governments. We want to determine our own destinies without exploitation by the United States. We're not trying to gain anything for ourselves. We're trying to gain something for our children, our unborn."

Mills said that as a fisherman, he would rather be on the river than travelling all over the country. But when he fishes, he is harassed and beaten by state officials, even though Federal Courts consistently back up his legal rights to be fishing. That, plus the wave of official violence and repression against native peoples, has caused him to become one of the Trail's organizers.

And attempts to steal away the Nisqually Reservation have also given him concern. In a recent article, syndicated columnist Jack Anderson revealed classified U.S. Army documents describing an attempt by the U.S. to take 757 acres of land from the Nisqually Nation. The official involved is Maj. General Volney Warner, who got his general's rank for his leadership of the U.S. Armed Forces against native people at Wounded Knee in 1973.

This would not be the first Army land grab for the Nisqually People. After losing much of its land in the Pacific Northwest, it had a 4,700-acre reservation. All but the 757 acres were taken by the U.S. Army in 1918 — and now the Army says it wants the remaining Nisqually land for a training area and firing range.

The classified documents show the Army wanted to expropriate the acreage in 1973, but "in view of the Wounded Knee controversy," the documents show, the move was postponed for "a more propitious time". Again in 1976, Army Engineers, in another classified memo, cited the "controversial nature" of the takeover and postponed it "at this time".

But now that General Warner has his Indian War merit badge, he is pushing for immediate acquisition. He wants to deal directly with U.S. Interior Department officials rather than talk with the Nisqually People.



— Oregonian photo

Sid Mills of the Trail of Self-Determination

The Nisqually People complain that the Army is making life bothersome for them. Live artillery shells have been lobbed over the reservation, Nisqually fishermen have been buzzed by helicopters, the reservation has been invaded by tanks and trucks, and the Army has also aided State fisheries agents and sheriff's deputies against the native people in their struggle to fish.

Not Everyone Wanted To Celebrate

But if the official hoopala tried hard to give the impression everything was great with native people, a few spoil-sports didn't let it completely succeed.

"Who wants to celebrate 200 years of being ripped off?" asked author/lawyer Vine Deloria, Jr.

Noting that the Bicentennial celebrations made native people feel like tourists in their own home, Marie Potts, editor of *The Smoke Signal* of the Federated Indians of California and the dean of native journalists, wondered, "Why didn't the Bicentennial begin its celebration where U.S. history began, and show how the land was actually 'won'? Why has the Bicentennial committees left this part of history out?"

The Bicentennial Administration got good mileage out of designating Pueblos as "Bicentennial Communities"

but it didn't give out many press releases when the All Indian Pueblo Council composed of 19 pueblos passed a resolution that they would not participate in the Bicentennial, and the eight Northern Pueblos returned their Bicentennial grants to the U.S. Government.

"It is not in the interest of Pueblo people to participate," explained Delfin Lovato, chairman of AIPC. **"We have not had our day in court on a number of water and land issues. The sovereignty of Indian tribes in New Mexico is not recognized. Our beautiful farmlands have dwindled to small reservations. The Bicentennial is a continuation of the process of assimilation."**

In Kansas City, native people were scheduled to be positioned first in a parade celebrating the city's "ethnic heritage", but at the last minute, they announced the parade would have to go on without them "parading around in costumes."



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Jean Francois

The People of North America Heading Back to the Little Big Horn Battlesite

"Freedom of speech." Thurman Bear asked in Detroit. **"Where is my language? I hope you are fortunate enough to have yours. Mine was never given to me — my people before me were beaten or shamed away from it. Religious freedom: How many know the old ways. Where are our sacred grounds. They're covered with water, cement, or hidden away to keep the dominant culture from desecrating them further."**

In Philadelphia, the July 4th Coalition's People's Bicentennial March was addressed by Clyde Bellecourt, and the key-note address was given by Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Custer Still Lives In Fantasyland

Actually, one of the major celebrations for native people during 1976 was a centennial — the Cheyenne Victory Celebration known as the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Just the idea had local non-native residents paranoid, and extra security measures were in force everywhere to protect against the imagined force of rapists, robbers, killers and radicals the populace expected. Rumors were rampant: AIM was going to blow up dams and kidnap innocent residents.

At the battlefield, now considered by the U.S. a "National Monument", U.S. Park Service officials tried to simultaneously satisfy those who venerate Custer, and native people. Battlefield superintendent Dick Hart had hoped to arrange official delegations of Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Crow each behind their own tribal shields, but none showed up. However, a caravan of 23 cars of Lakota Treaty Councilmen did arrive and dominated the proceedings.

At Lame Deer, BIA and tribal council police forces were beefed up, and at the Crow Reservation as well. A BIA police helicopter combed every yard in Lame Deer. "Mama, are we going to have a war." one worried Cheyenne child asked. At one point, ten Crow police cars converged on Sun Lodge, and motel and restaurant workers refused to show up for work. Tribal offices were closed.

Originally, the scenario the Bicentennial people were hoping for had the Seventh Cavalry riding again with tens of thousands of spectators cheering them on, with Crow teenagers in glorious costume playing the parts of the Sioux and Cheyenne to bring Custer to his defeat.

Instead, there were prayers for the dead, and complaints for the living — "The sophisticated giants of American industry are invading our lands," Russell Means of the American Indian Movement told the official gathering.

His remarks were echoed by Ellis Knows Gun who called for a unified struggle to protect native nation lands from exploiters of minerals. "We are fighting for

our very existence," he said, referring to a court action seeking to overturn coal leases on nation lands which the U.S. Government had authorized.

For the Custer buffs, the native delegation was outrageously disrespectful. Bumper stickers read "Custer had it coming," and choruses of "Custer Died For Your Sins" seemed to spring up everywhere. "I can't imagine a Lieutenant Calley National Monument in Vietnam," Means remarked.

The general's great-grandnephew, Colonel George Armstrong Custer III, sat quietly in the audience.

"So now we are gathered to pay homage to our people who fell at the Greasy Grass and all marked and unmarked places in defense of their families and homeland, and to remind ourselves that freedom and the equality of all life is the gift of the Creator," the Lakota Treaty Council press-release had read.

"It's been an awkward two days for the Custer family," Colonel Custer III said, as he placed a wreath on his ancestor's grave while a group of Custer loyalists watched. In previous anniversary ceremonies, the Custer family was honored, and some family members gave tributes. This year, they weren't even especially invited, not asked to speak, and were largely ignored. Custer III said he was "disappointed", recalling that his mother and father in past years had been invited to stay with the park superintendent for the event.

The Custer fans were angrily noting that this time, it was park superintendent Hart who wiped away the rainwater that gathered in the misty weather on the chair of Russell Means, so that when he finished speaking, he would have a dry place to sit. The General never would have done that.

Means closed his speech by quoting words uttered by Chief Seattle before he moved to a reservation. **"Nation follows nation, and tribe follows tribe. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come . . . we may be brothers after all. We shall see."**

Even in New Humley, Ohio, the General's home town, there had been a protest and spiritual gathering of native people and supporters on the one hand, and members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars who had come down to decorate the Custer shrine, on the other hand. Sandwiched between the VFW's speeches and three-gun salute were chants of "Custer and Calley, one and the same".

Custer was also eulogized by *Chicago Tribune* columnist Bob Wiedrich, who wrote of the "sacrifices of men such as those who died a century ago on the banks of the Little Big Horn." Wiedrich said the critics are hypocrites, for without good guys like Custer, "there would be no diesel truck spanning the concrete innerstate with a load of steaks to fill their bellies. The freight train hauling the commerce of a nation would not be rolling past the desolate battlefield because no railroad would have been built to unify the continent." After all, Wiedrich reasoned, it had been people like the Seventh Cavalry who had "fashioned this nation out of a wilderness."

But despite it all, there were some nice touches. One of the counter-commemorations was held last December to mark the 113th anniversary of the mass hanging of 38 Santee Sioux in Mankato, Minnesota, on December 28, 1962 — the largest mass execution in U.S. history. One of those who handed out sandwiches to the Indian marchers was Genevieve Anderson, 62. She said her husband's grandfather had been the one who tied the knots in the ropes used to hang the Sioux. "The hangings were wrong," she said. "This is my way of trying to make up for what was done."

(With special thanks to Beverly Bad Horse.)

Paraguay, A Land Of Slavery, Torture & Death

The people of Paraguay live under the government of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, and that government is said to be one of the most vicious and repressive regimes in the world. Under the Stroessner regime, Paraguay has been accused of practically every crime a government can commit, including torture of political prisoners and the official sanction of slavery.

And Paraguay is permitting the wholesale slaughter of its indigenous population, and the cultural genocide of the survivors.

If published reports can be believed, Paraguay has partners to these crimes in the world community — especially in the United States, and particularly in the State Department.

A Conquistadores Rest Stop

Paraguay was first entered by European peoples when Alojo Garcia, looking for a passage from the South Atlantic to the Pacific, claimed the territory for the Spanish in 1537. The capital and major city, Asuncion, was founded by the Spanish in 1537, and was the seat of Spanish authority in southern South America, until the Spanish transferred authority to Buenos Aires in 1616.

If foreign people don't know much about this territory, it is probably because the area never seriously attracted the attention of the West until very recently. During the colonial period, Paraguay had little of the kind of wealth that attracted the Spanish. The area was only used by the conquistadores as a kind of way station from which they launched their expeditions of conquest over this region of South America to create a Spanish Empire.

Some things happened in this small remote land which happened nowhere else in the Western Hemisphere. The people the Spanish found to be occupying this country were "American Indians", and the dominant natural group were the Guaraní. Those Spaniards who chose to stay in Paraguay were, to a considerable extent, assimilated by the natural culture. Paraguay, for example, is the only country in the Western hemisphere where a native language, Guaraní, not only thrives, but is probably the dominant language of the country. The early Spanish married Guaraní women and adopted the customs and language of the Guaraní people, although now Spanish is taught in the schools. The Spanish also adapted to the local agriculture — corn, beans, squash, potatoes, manioc, peanuts, cotton, tobacco, to which they added wheat, rice, other cereals, oranges, sugar cane, grapes, and a major if questionable contribution: cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, goats and poultry.

All of this sounds fine and pleasant enough in the history books. But the Spanish brought more with them than sugar cane and chickens. The colonial form of economic organization in Spanish America involved the use of *encomiendas* — a sort of land grant in which the sovereign of Spain granted to some favored soldier or relative a parcel of land and all that land contained, including the human beings who resided there, or who could be captured.

The specific nature of Spanish colonial society and its relationship to its native populations can be found in the story of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

The Society of Jesus is an order of the Roman Catholic Church. During the 17th and 18th Centuries, it became particularly strong in Paraguay, rivaling even the Spanish Crown. The Jesuits probably prevented some of the exploitation of the native nations that the other colonists would have implemented — which meant that the Jesuits were successful in "taming" the "wild" natives, partly because there was no religious establishment among the native people to oppose them, and partly because the brand of slavery on a Jesuit *encomienda* was less brutal than was to be found in other places.

In 1767, the Jesuit *encomiendas* had about 150,000 native people living under their subjugation. But in that year, the Spanish expelled the Jesuits from the colony of Paraguay specifically because of the Jesuit "success" with the native peoples. Just the fact that the Jesuits opposed the sexual exploitation of native women made the religious order unpopular. After the Jesuits left, the people they had "protected" were devastated, and by 1807, there remained only 45,000 of the original population.

The *encomienda* system was the method by which the native people were brought into the colonial economy. It is basically a survival of Spanish feudal society, and it provided a system whereby the Spanish were insured a source of labor and food, and as well, kept the Guaraní in an inferior status — the first step in the colonization of a native people usually involves this conversion of their economy and culture to that of a serf society.

The development of racialism in Paraguay is almost unique in the Spanish Empire, and certainly contains a message for the Peoples of the world. In colonial times, because of the isolation, Paraguay was considered merely as a province of Argentina. In 1776, it was actually placed under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (Argentina) in the Spanish scheme of things. But in Paraguay, the purely Spanish population remained so small in number that they were unable to create an elite Spanish class, and it was therefore possible for their mestizo sons and daughters to rise in the government without the element of racist deterrents present elsewhere. There was, in fact, less social stigma to the status of *mestizo* in Paraguay than in any other Spanish colony. So, in the amazing capacity of colonialists to compromise to keep the system going, the Spanish Crown dealt with the absence of a viable Spanish ruling class and considered the mestizos as "white" and made them Spanish citizens.

Despite this, all was not well between Spain and her Spanish-speaking colonials. Under Spain, Paraguay was largely neglected as a colony. No commercial companies were formed to exploit her "riches", few travellers entered it, there was little economic growth in the colonial system. After the Spanish administration moved to Buenos Aires, government interest in Paraguay virtually ceased after that time, 1617. Although Paraguayan history books state that Paraguay declared itself independent of Spain and Argentina on May 4, 1811, in fact, Asuncion had been running its own affairs for at least forty years. All that remained was for Paraguay to twice defeat the armed forces Argentina sent in to defend it.

Independence, however, is not the same as freedom. Paraguay's first government under independence became an absolute dictatorship. Dr. Jose Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia ruled Paraguay with a despotism unequalled in Latin America. His major contribution to Paraguayan history was the banning of international trade. Under Francia, Paraguay was a totally self-sufficient nation-state. He was a tyrant who allowed no opposition. He passed edicts making it unlawful for the Spanish to marry other than Indians or blacks. All able-bodied men were commanded to work on agricultural stations for the good of the state and of Francia, and Paraguayans were not allowed to travel abroad.

True, Francia made Paraguay self-sufficient once again, and his absolute control enabled Paraguay to escape the years of civil war that characterized the histories of other countries which gained independence from Spanish colonialism. But the Father of Paraguay also set the tone for the political systems of his successors, and the succession to power in Paraguay has followed the general pattern of South American dictatorships: junta, consulate, dictatorship.

Carlos Lopez succeeded to power in this way in 1840 when Francia died. He in turn was succeeded by his son, Francisco Lopez, who led the Paraguayan Army during the disastrous Triple Alliance War against Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil (1865-1870). Francisco actually harbored ambitions of making Paraguay a great South American power, and when his ambitions were rebuffed, he declared war on Brazil, which joined forces with Argentina and Bolivia to defeat Paraguay. In the process, more than half the population was killed. Of the 220,000 Paraguayans alive at the end of the war, only 28,000 were men. Paraguay also lost 55,000 square miles of territory, and endured foreign military occupation for six years.

During the period of 1870 to 1935, the native people of Paraguay, as well as the general population, continued to suffer militarism, corruption, and political strife. In 1887, General Bernardino Caballero founded the *Colorado*, or Conservative Party, which continues as Paraguay's dominant political force. Power throughout this period was determined by which faction controlled the allegiance of the Army, which the *Colorado* Party did until 1904 when it was overthrown by the Liberal Party which ruled the next 32 years.

Then, in 1932, Paraguay entered a four-year war with Bolivia over ownership of an area known as the Chaco, said to be a potential oil reserve. This war was almost as disastrous as the last: Paraguay lost 40,000 men and spent \$124,000,000 to retain 20,000 square miles of uninhabited land.

During most of the past 40 years, Paraguay has been under the rule of two generals. Military involvement in politics increased greatly following the Chaco War, and in 1936, a succession of totalitarian regimes seized power, one from the other until finally, General Higinio Morinigo came to be ruler. He was in power during World War II when he favored the Axis powers, although it hedged by waiting until February, 1945, when the outcome of the war seemed clear, to declare that it was on the side of the Allies. Morinigo allocated 50% of his government's budget to the military, and adopted a policy of placating the army with gifts which he obtained from the United States, which seems to favor South American dictatorships.

Morinigo was in office for eight years, during which he jailed many people for political purposes. He was overthrown in a military coup in 1948, and during the next 18 months, five presidents came and left until Federico Chaves took power in 1949.



General Alfredo Stroessner unseated Chaves in 1954 and he has governed since that time in a military dictatorship supported by the *Colorado* Party.

Paraguay has a population of 2.1 million in their landlocked 157,047 square miles of territory. 36% of the population is urban. Only 4% of the land is in farms, and 40% in grazing. 54% is forested; 2/3 of that timberland is virgin. Less than 1% of the total land area is under cultivation.

Two river systems, the Paraguay and the Parana, drain the area. The Paraguay River separates the country into two distinct and separate geographic zones — the larger being the Chaco, 95,000 square miles, with rolling plains, marshes, lagoons, dense tropical forests, suited to hunting and livestock, with the highest elevation just 754 feet above sea level. Eastern Paraguay lies between the Paraguay and Alto Parana rivers, and consists of rolling plains and swamps, forest and is heavily wooded over less than half its area. The maximum altitude is 2,000 feet. Most of Paraguay's population lives here — including the native people currently threatened with extinction, the Ache.

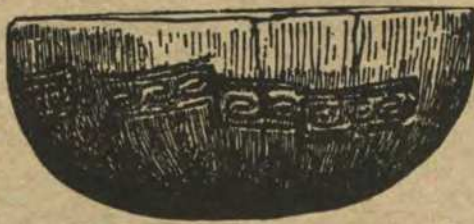
AN INDIFFERENT WORLD TURNS ITS BACK AS U.S. AND PARAGUAYAN INTERESTS PERMIT A GENTLE PEOPLE TO BE HUNTED DOWN AND EXPLOITED TO THE POINT WHERE UTTER EXTINCTION MAY BE THEIR FATE

— Asunción, Paraguay

The Ache have been hunted since the Spanish first arrived, for when captured, they tended to be docile and obedient workers. They could even be used as hunters against the "wild" Ache. But prior to about 1968, action against them was usually in reprisal for a slaughtered cow and was generally sporadic. The new wave of massacres is different — it was not carried out by the small landowners, but is the work of the large landowners and the timber companies.

An "International Road" has been completed through eastern Paraguay to the Brazilian frontier, joining the highway to Curitiba and Paranaguá, the capital and port of the Brazilian state of Paraná. As a result, the price of land has risen, the forest has been invaded by woodcutters, and the food supply of the Aches seriously diminished. The Aches responded by

attacking woodcutters and by killing cows of the ranchers. Manhunts were organized in reprisal, and the sale of children of the murdered Aches increased in the early 1970s.



Today, the Ache face utter extinction. But the evidence is that it is not the relocation or colonization of their lands by Paraguayan peasants which is motivating the raids, but that new forces are at work.

The Aches are being systematically exterminated by whatever means possible. They are hunted by groups using dogs and often captured Aches, called "Jaguars" act as guides or hunters. Poisoned food is set out for them, and gun traps are used. Survivors who are captured are detained in "reservations" indistinguishable from Nazi concentration camps where they become slaves. They are forced to work in return for enough food to barely subsist. They receive no medical treatment. They are forbidden to sing their traditional songs or even speak their own language.

When the free Aches find themselves face-to-face with the "Jaguars", they throw down their bows, offer no resistance, make no attempt to escape. With their capture, they lose their humanity. The power of their

(continued on next page)

chiefs is lost, the ceremonies are forgotten, musical instruments thrown aside. The Jaguar's immediate reward is the wives of the men he captured or killed.

The situation prompted Miguel Chase-Sardi, one of Paraguay's most prominent experts on native people who himself was imprisoned and tortured for his aid to the native people just this year, to comment: "They are hunted; they are pursued like animals. The parents are killed and the children sold... and there is no family of which a child has not been murdered."

Until 1973, the town of San Juan Nepomuceno was the center of a slave trade — an Ache could be purchased for \$10. By 1973, there were so many Ache on the market the price fell to \$5. Sales were usually of children to age 12, and in this part of Paraguay, owning an Ache is considered to be a status symbol, comparable to owning a tiger or a boa. The choices to the free Ache are surrender or extermination. Surrender means the slave market or the reservation, and in either case, brutal treatment.

The *London Sunday Times Magazine* published the following account of an observer in January, 1975: "I was on the bus to Asunción, when it made the usual stop at Arroyo Guasu. We heard that *senuelos* had just brought in a large number of Guyakis, and the passengers got down to see them." A passing car stopped, from which "a woman and her two daughters got down. One of them went to the river's bank and took a child feeding at the breast from its mother, and went back with it to the car. The woman made no attempt to stop her, or even cry out. She seemed petrified." The writer of this account, Dr. Luigi Miraglia, rushed after the abductress and took the child back. "One wonders how many more such pathetic human souvenirs were taken when the hunters came in with their prey on that, and so many other days."

Removal to the reservations is no guarantee of survival either. The same *Sunday Times* article carried a photograph of an Ache woman who had been shot in the side while being hunted down. The writers did not believe that her wounds would be attended. The Ache reservation, called the "Colony", was founded in 1968 by Manuel de Jesus Periera, a retired army sergeant. Periera had achieved notoriety during the 1950s as a hunter and killer of Aches. Dr. Munzel's articles in 1972 contributed to the public scandal in Paraguay sufficient to cause Periera's dismissal as administrator of the Colony. Munzel accused Periera of being a drunkard and of participating in the slave trade. He also charged Periera with keeping Ache girls as young as six years in his home and of offering them to visitors for sexual purposes. One of Periera's frequent visitors was none other than a Col. Tristan Infanzon, director of the Paraguayan Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Roman Catholic Church took a strong stand on this issue, noting that most of the Aches who had been captured died while in his custody of starvation, disease, or lack of medical attention. As for Dr. Munzel, his efforts were rewarded by being expelled from Paraguay on unproven charges that he and his wife were joining the Ache in sexual orgies which were filmed for German television. Such trumped-up charges, of course, were intended to discredit Munzel.

The present administration of the Colony is the North American New Tribes Mission, headed by Mr. Jack Stolz. Reports from Paraguay published by the *New York Times* indicate that Stolz simply adopted Periera's methods of "procuring" Aches. The New Tribes Missions, it will be admitted, makes no pretensions of a humane policy towards the Ache. The missionaries are openly contemptuous of Ache culture, and therefore of Ache as a People. Their main message to the Ache is that the Ache are living in sin, especially in sexual matters. They take the view there is no salvation for those Ache who cannot be converted. Hell is the place for the unsaved, and by all accounts, the mission provides a pretty good preview of what Hell is all about.

Three hundred Ache live in 12 huts averaging 15 feet square each. Observers are astonished that it is even possible to crowd so many into such a small area. Accounts tell of people in the last stages of starvation, of older people left simply to die, and of the distended stomachs of the young children, indicative of gross malnutrition. There are almost no young women or girls between ages 5 and puberty — at the Colony, males outnumber females twenty to one. There are no old men.

"We believe," says the printed doctrinal statement of the New Tribes Mission, "in the unending punishment of the unsaved."

The reservation serves as a sort of boot camp at which the newly-captured Ache are taught by the missionaries that they have no choice but to work as farmhands, serving the same purpose as their ancestors did on *encomiendas* of the past. Ache who attempt to run away are shot.

The New Tribes Mission performs a valuable service to the Government of Paraguay in the name of Christianity, exemplifying a tradition by which native peoples have been brutalized and enslaved in the name of love, brotherhood and the Holy Ghost. The New Tribes Mission is commissioned to bring Ache into the Paraguayan national economy "for their best interests", the centuries-long unholy alliance with governments which such missions have forged historically.

It is necessary to examine this microcosm of genocide against the Ache in the light of the world economy into which Paraguay is now entering. Military bases and installations, including airfields, landing strips, and strategic highways are being built with U.S. assistance on land once owned by native nations. In the absence of native peoples, Paraguay is free to offer unhindered access to territory to U.S. and other foreign corporations.

A huge area in the Chaco, for example, was recently turned over to the U.S. Texaco concern for oil prospecting. Commercial penetration of this part of Paraguay has been heavily financed from the United States, and the involvement of the Paraguayan military dictatorship is direct and incontrovertible. The U.S. Anschutz Corporation, whose concessions in eastern Paraguay cover 39% of the national land area, has reported the possible existence of uranium deposits there on the 159,828 square kilometers of grant. Terms of the contract granted Anschutz include freedom from taxes for the next 40 years.

Paraguay and Brazil are building the world's largest hydroelectric project along the Parana River at the edge of the Ache's hunting grounds. The plan is for an enormous dam at a point on the river where it divides Paraguay from Brazil. The plant will generate 11-million kilowatts of electric power when it is completed in 1992 to supply the voracious demand for power of the booming industrial development of Brazil's south-central area. Paraguay, being unable to absorb its half of the power, would sell most of it to Brazil, becoming one of the world's largest electricity exporters with annual earnings of some \$200-million. Thus the economic forces which force many Paraguayan peasants to emigrate to Argentina, and which trap Ache families in diminishing forests, are clearly on the advance.

As a guest of the U.S. State Department, a Col. Samaniego, Paraguay's minister for Indian Affairs, toured the U.S. in October, and was interviewed by Sotsisowah, an editor of *AKWESASNE NOTES*, at the Institute for the Development of Indian Law. The official summarized Paraguay's official position concerning the annihilation of the Aches: "We have no Indian problem to speak of in Paraguay."



An Ache Youth

— Pogrom photo

Samaniego claimed that the Munzel documents were falsifications, and said that one of his main purposes in the U.S.-sponsored tour was to refute its validity.

Dr. Munzel, however, has noted that the Paraguayan Government is not an innocent bystander, and that with the tight military and police control throughout Paraguay, it would not be difficult to prevent the manhunts if the government really wished to do so. Munzel says this results in the imprisonment "not of the murderers, but the victims" in the reservation "Colony".

Rather than halting the mass murder of the Ache, Paraguay has adopted a policy of halting the flow of information concerning the atrocities. There has been brutal repression of any who would dare to help the native interests. In 1974, anthropologist Miguel Chase-Sardi and others organized Mirandu, a humanitarian group associated with the Catholic University of Asunción. Their project was for "legal defense and education", the first of its kind in Paraguay. It said it hoped "to furnish Paraguayan Indian leaders with the knowledge necessary for legal defense against the crimes and abuses that members of the national society commit against Indian communities or isolated persons." But in the early morning of December 1, 1975, Sardi and an associate, Marilyn Rehnfeldt, were arrested on allegations of "subversive activities", and Chase-Sardi was subjected to vicious torture. A secretary to the project, Gloria Estrago, may have died while under arrest. Authorities closed the flower shop

owned by Chase-Sardi's wife, and government pressures forced his son to lose his job.

Although Chase-Sardi's work was financed by a \$100,000 grant from the Inter-American Foundation, which in turn is financed by the U.S. Congress, the U.S. officially turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to this and other internal atrocities of Paraguay. On March 8, 1974, Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota took the U.S. Senate floor to "denounce genocidal activities still rampant in Paraguay." He called for the cutting off of aid to Paraguay, concluding that "a government which is bent on the mass extermination of part of its people does not deserve our aid any more than a convicted and professed killer deserves a welfare check."

Following Abourezk's speech, the U.S. Ambassador to Paraguay was recalled and the senator and his supporters were privately admonished by the ambassador, who reminded them that the abiding friendship of Paraguay was indispensable to the framework of U.S. hemispheric defense.

The U.S. Press has also remained strangely unresponsive to the news from Paraguay. Professor Richard Arens, counsel to the League for the Rights of Man, reports that "a careful survey of the national media... left us solely with an impression of a consciously or unconsciously-determined news black out."

The behavior of the Paraguayan Government is such that there is good reason for the U.S. to conceal what its beneficiary is doing. There are reported to be at least 1,000 political prisoners in Paraguay today, and new concentration camps are being constructed. During June, 1976, Carmen de Lara Castro, president of the Human Rights Commission, protested that "these tortures cannot go on. Mothers are being taken prisoner because of allegations against their children; wives are being imprisoned because they refuse to reveal where their husband and children are hiding." The adage comes true again: a nation which behaves atrociously toward others, such as native peoples, eventually comes to consume its own.

On April 6, 1976, the International League for the Rights of Man accused the U.S. State Department of covering up evidence of atrocities committed by the government of Alfredo Stroessner. The League, which is accredited by the United Nations to provide data on human rights issues, said that evidence of mass arrests, torture, and threatened annihilation of the Ache had been provided to the State Department. Despite this information, the State Department continues to portray the Stroessner regime in favorable terms, and it continues to supply Paraguay with generous amounts of military and economic aid.

Morris G. Abram, former U.S. member of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, also accused the U.S. of a cover-up and called for an end to U.S. aid to Paraguay under a U.S. law prohibiting aid to governments committing gross violations of human rights. Abram also charged that Asst. Secretary of State Robert J. McClosky, in a letter to Senator James Buckley of New York, had knowingly suppressed information on conditions in Paraguay. The U.S. apparently had gone through the motions of protest, but in spirit and in fact, were partners in the Stroessner abuses.

Foreign private business concerns, which enjoy special privileges from the Paraguayan Government, have played a significant part in perpetuating the conditions in that country. A commission supposedly to help the Ache, set up by foreign businessmen, also participated in the cover-up of the atrocities. The treasurer of that group is Thomas Holt, a representative of the Bank of America. This commission gathered about \$22,000 to "benefit the Indians", but it has been alleged that part of the money was used to finance man-hunting expeditions.

The strategy of both private concerns and the Stroessner regime has been to counter criticism of conditions in Paraguay with false representations and a considerable display of propaganda. One of the facts most difficult for the U.S. to explain is that General Stroessner plays host to numerous fugitives from post-World War II Nuremberg justice. A number of reliable observers say that Nazi figures such as Herr Conrict and Dr. Josef Mangele, the Doctor of Auchwitz, have been active in an advisory capacity in Paraguay.

Dr. Munzel's analysis of the situation remains unanswered and demands attention. Pursuing Indians is nothing new — but the systematic extermination of native peoples, by the use of privately-financed murder expeditions with racist ideological underpinnings, the systematic combing of zones year after year, combined with the clandestine approval of the government of Paraguay which supports a concentration camp, demand the attention and action of all peoples and nations who feel that such behavior is, in 1976, no longer to be allowed.

— Sotsisowah

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Child of this earth—Born of a people in balance
with the Creation. Like the vast plains and the very
wind, _____ we are forever.

This photo is by Edward S. Curtis, and was taken in 1906 in Assiniboine Country. It is entitled "Painted Tipi". This is one of a series of posters reproduced from the copyrighted work of A. W. F. Curtis, and is available on the back of the book "The American Indian" at 50 cents each, or \$1.00 for \$1.00, plus 25 cents for mailing tube and handling. A full listing of posters is on the Resources page of this issue. Order from ALWESASNE NOTES, Mahwah, New Jersey, via Roosevelt, N.Y. 13663.

Where the strong trees grow

by José Barreiro



[Two years ago, *White Roots of Peace/ AKWESASNE NOTES* was in Guatemala working to develop understanding and unity and mutual aid with the native people of that land. Guatemala is an Indian nation, with millions of indigenous people. When a disastrous earthquake shook the land on February 4, 1976, *AKWESASNE NOTES* immediately began to organize an expedition to bring aid to their stricken brothers and sisters. That trip took place this summer, and this is a continuation from the last issue of *NOTES* of an account of that experience. The Editors.]

One Interruption

We were gathered once more. It was our first opportunity since arriving at San José Poaquil, and it was late at night. There were three candles burning on the floor at one end of the battered municipal hall and we formed ourselves around them.

It had been a week of spreading out. Half-a-dozen *aldeas* had been visited. A hundred feelers had gone out and some had circled back and some had not. People were settling into projects. There was uncertainty within us and a sort of collective instinct to regroup and project ahead.

Several of us had walked in from the mountains. As always, there were many questions and some had to do with the laying down of our philosophical/political direction and some had to do with the working out of communications and logistical knots.

We began slowly. Our friend Julito offered a prayer. There were a few reports. Ron Romero had come in from Parashaj where a potable water project was developing. He spoke some. Then members of the medical group surfaced. They were bumping into each other's expectations and groping for cohesion. This was given a little time and the idea was that all the groups would report first and then we'd wind around and dig deeper.

One of the agriculturists had just stood up. As a group, the agriculturists were moving very correctly. It was important for the rest of us to get a sense of that.

Hank slipped in the side door. He came in talking. Hank is a tall, thin man, a nurse from the Midwest. He walked in like some sort of wind-blown antenna.

"I'm sorry I am late and I'm sorry to come in like this interrupting — but — I've been over to the Canadians' camp talking with them and they're really a bunch of nice guys, really fine people, and I feel like we've *really* mis-judged them, like we haven't really made an effort to get to know them like we have with the local people and they've been wondering and kinda hurt too, that we haven't approached them."

He stopped. Everyone looked toward him.

"I'm sorry if I interrupted anything important," Hank said. "But one of their guys is outside — like he kinda wanted to talk and see if we could get together and I think that this would be a really good thing since they are trying to do the same thing we are doing which

is help the people here, you know, they got a lot of resources — anyway, he is outside and I could ask him to come in if people feel that's okay?"

"You say the man is outside?" Rarihokwats asked.

"Yeah," Hank nodded rapidly. "He's right outside, his name is Richard . . ."

"He would like to speak to us?"

Hank nodded.

Rarihokwats looked around. "Probably we shouldn't keep the man outside the door?" he said, looking for reaction.

People shrugged, nodded.

Hank asked the man in, holding the door open.

The Canadian came in. He turned out to be an American from Berkeley. He was a friendly young man, with medium-length curly hair and wire-rimmed eyes.

"In talking with Hank here," he said, "it sure seems like our two groups could work together."

"They've been wondering," Hank cut in, "why we haven't gone over to see them."

"Well, we sure would like to make contact," the "Canadian" said.

"Maybe you could start," one of our group said, "by telling us a little about yourselves."

The "Canadian" talked and we listened. They were a volunteer group that fluctuated between ten and twenty people, he said. Some were Canadian, but most were Americans or Guatemaltecos from the capital.

Early on, immediately after the earthquake, about a half-dozen of them had labored around the clock out of San José Poaquil, doing emergency evacuation and relief work. When the emergency work was no longer needed, the core group had remained. They had connected to the massively-funded Canadian relief effort, as well as to other volunteer agencies, and had formed a sort of aid-funneling group called ALFA.

The main task before them, he said, was the construction, using Canadian materials, tools and skills, of several hundred houses in the immediate vicinity of Poaquil.

"This is our main focus," the young man said. "Construction."

"It sounds good to me," Hank said. "It seems to me that we should be able to work together."

Nobody else spoke much. Whether or not we would be able to work with the "Canadians" depended on what they were really doing and whom they were doing it for.

Someone asked the young man what direction they were working — what was their purpose.

"We stay away from politics," the young man said. "We are simply here to help. Like we have no politics. We don't get into that at all."

This made it difficult to talk further. There weren't many in our group who found that position acceptable.

The young man seemed to sense this. His response was an invitation to join their group for lunch the following day, a Sunday. We accepted. Then the young man excused himself and offered good-night. Hank closed the door after him.

Everyone was tired. The intrusion had cost us an hour. Suddenly it had gotten late. The sort of calming and penetrating energy required to coalesce had gone out like vapor through the open door.

Two Interruption

In the morning, it was Sunday, market day. There was a big crowd in the plaza. People had walked in from their villages in the mountains, carrying the products of their labor. There were many stands set up, with white cloth over them for shade, and there was displayed all manner of vegetables and fruit, herbs and spices, dried fish and shrimp from the coast, cooking and farming utensils,

cloth cotton and wool fabrics, a man with a microphone hawking a miracle potion, chickens and pigs, emaciated dogs on the prowl for a bite of food, kids sneaking oranges, roasted corn and steamed corn, three or four travelling barbers at one end giving haircuts and spreading the news of the valley, trucks edging their way through the crowd and at another end a parking-lot of pack animals — donkeys and horses and mules swishing flies with their tails and waiting out the day.

It was a sunny day. Part of our group had spread out through the market to shop while others cleaned up the municipal hall where we had slept. Once, toward mid-morning, we were visited by Don Nicolás, brought by a group of four or five carpenters from various villages.

We formed a circle on the porch of the municipal hall, facing the plaza. "The *hermanos* here would like to discuss methods of construction," Don Nicolás said. "And more than anything else, ones which won't kill as many of our people when the next earthquake comes."

We began to talk. "Mr. Adobe," who is an engineer, and two of our carpenters outlined the different types of projects they were encountering. Some of the construction was to be simple and quick. At Hacienda Maria, for instance, there were several widows with no shelter whatsoever. It was thought necessary and efficient as an emergency sort of thing, to put up some lean-to's as rapidly as possible.

A fairly large group had gathered, probably around 40 men and women and they were pressed together.

"Mr. Adobe" and our carpenters then outlined the kind of house they would like to construct as a model. It was to be a sturdy house, made totally out of local, natural materials, and employing a technique unknown in the area — a floating foundation — which would give it sufficient resiliency to withstand a powerful earthquake. They had studied the local construction. With the exception of the floating foundation, all the carpentry methods and tools borrowed heavily on how local carpenters worked.



—AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Francis Wardle
The New Canadian Look In San José Poaquil, July, 1976

There was much nodding. One of our carpenters drew a quick sketch and the piece of paper made the rounds from hand to hand.

"What I like the best," Don Nicolás said, "is the use of local materials."

A couple of the men nodded vigorously. "So we could build such a house ourselves?" one man asked.

"We'll get the model house built," one of our carpenters said. He told them the village, and for whom. "Some of you can help, if you like. In any case, it may be studied later by anyone who cares to. Also, we intend to leave sketches with measurements."

A man squeezed through the crowd, his hand raised. "Would you employ *lamina*?" he asked.

"Probably not, if we can help it," Mr. Adobe responded. *Lamina* is the

Spanish word for corrugated metal roofing. It's use in rebuilding since the earthquake has been widespread and a source of controversy at several levels.

"Brothers," Don Nicolás said, "you don't see *lamina* produced locally."

He smiled. "They are going to give our country a new name," he said. "It's not Guatemala anymore — it's *Guatelmama*."

The men and women laughed heartily. "But it's true, Don Nicolás," one man said, "that the *lamina* is safer than the tile roofs."

"Without denial," Don Nicolás nodded. "But that is not to say it is the only way for us. There may be other ways, and the *hermanos* here are trying to present their ways."

"I have used straw or thatch," someone suggested.

Martin stood up, asking approval to speak. Don Nicolás nodded. The rest of us nodded. Martin is a long-haired, bearded young man from Wisconsin. He is a former Navy medic who has spent several years apprenticed at the study of herbs.

"I am not a carpenter," Martin said. "I am a person who works with herbs and their medicinal properties and other methods which secure our health. Probably I won't be involved in any of this construction. However, in my own field I see some parallels which might be helpful."

He paused. "*Que hable*," one of the men said.

"Just this morning I walked through this plentiful market," Martin said. "I found within it all the herbs and medicines necessary for health. Everything. I could make a list and there is not one particular place in the whole United States that I could find all that can be found in that market right behind you."

Don Nicolás was in full agreement. He held up his hand for Martin to wait as he translated into Cakchiquel. Don Nicolás translated for a long time, probably thrice the length of Martin's words. "I added a few words of my own," he explained, switching to Spanish. "I tell them about what you say. You see, all medicines, forever, have come from the land. But these things from the outside are expensive

and we know nothing of them. They tell us we should ignore our own *sajorines*, our medicine people. No, like the bearded brother here has said — what we need is all around us, and it does not require money."

A tall, thin man from one of the more remote villages came forward. He shook hands all around. He was a public health nurse, trained in the capital, but working in the village of his origin.

"I am very happy, very contented to hear you speak thus," he said. "And I cannot deny that in my training I learned many good things. But they would have us pretend we have no ways of our own. This irritated me, because coming back to the countryside to work, I realized one thing has to fit with the other."

"But the foundation is ours," Don Nicolás said.

"More and more I believe that is correct," the nurse said, nodding. Others were nodding.

Don Nicolás is a traditional leader in the pueblo. Oftentimes, it doesn't matter to him what the topic is as long as a sense of the tradition gets presented and the direction toward self-worth and self-sufficiency is put forth.

He had lifted his hand to speak once more when a loud, authoritative voice broke in from the crowd.

"If you want to know about herbs..." it said.

"Who is that speaking?" Don Nicolás asked.

"It's me, Eugenio."

A man came forward in the crowd. People made way for him. He was a young man with a round face and educated eyes. He turned out to be the director of the local Canadian effort.



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Juan Reyna
"The old woman said she'd fix coffee, and one for herself, too."

"If you want to know about herbs," he repeated, "There are several books written by a couple of German botanists. A complete list. You can find it in the National Library in the Capital. He came into the inner circle and sat down. Don Nicolás nodded at him. Something curious happened — for a few minutes, no one spoke. It isn't often in that town that you get so many people together and talking and through Don Nicolás' words and Martin's and the man-nurse's, a certain sentiment had emerged, a trust, that the "Canadian's" intrusion checked.



I caught Don Nicolás' eye, and he was looking away. The "Canadian" now started talking with our carpenters. Although he was on the inside of a large circle of people, he wanted to talk about a school building project and it was as if the crowd were not there and it was he and us alone.

The crowd began to thin out. The man-nurse from the remote village tipped his hat to us and backed away.

"We have all the materials and tools," the "Canadian" named Eugenio was saying. Our construction people reluctantly agreed to look into the school building project.

The meeting had broken down into several conversations. Some men were wanting to know when we would visit their villages. Rarihokwats pulled out a large map of the foot-trails and spread it

on the ground. People circled him. Don Nicolás stood up. "Well, I have work to do," he said. He left.

Soon, the "Canadian" was also done, and he stood up. He shook hands all around. Then he walked away through the market crowd.

Julito was standing next to me, shaking his head. "There are herbs all over here," he said. "This man wants us to go to a library?" People here don't even read."

A Solicitation

The Canadians had friendly faces. They appeared busy and as we came into their camp, the first ones would greet us casually and walk on.

It was middle afternoon. Their camp consisted of several small buildings, and one long one and some tents. The buildings were made of new construction, and they were solid-looking, with

no lack of nails and hinges and smooth two-by-fours.

We spread out. Some of us went to sit under a large tree and others stood around, mingling with the three women cooks who promised to deliver the meal within a half-hour, and who had all that carefree charm young Americans have when they drift through foreign lands.

Soon, some of the other young men and women were out to talk to us. Most of them were young Americans, and two or three Canadians, and a few Guatemaltecos who spoke flawless English and used expressions like "Wow!" and "Far out!"

Suddenly we didn't seem to be in Guatemala any more, and it was like being in the U.S., like one of those parties that someone throws with the bright idea of getting strangers acquainted and then everyone stands around awkwardly because even though they seem alike, they can't figure out what they have in common.

The director, Eugenio, pulled up in a large motorcycle. He was very much the director, walking in short determined steps and you could see that his eyes picked out detail. Immediately there was someone with a question for him to resolve, and he did this as he greeted us in friendly fashion and went in to check the progress of the meal.

We waited. The small conversations were friendly enough, but produced nothing except the one seemingly inevitable flash between two people in the different groups that they had a mutual acquaintance "back in Georgia".

"Far out," someone said.

The meal was ready and we came together to eat. Two of their men went off and came back with bundles of pine-needles and made a large circle under the tree. We all sat there. The food was good. Everyone seemed to agree on that. Then we started to talk.

Eugenio spoke for their group. His words were measured. He gave the same basic description the young man had given the previous evening. He emphasized the earlier work they had

done, the emergency relief, how they had evolved, and the growth of their involvement with the Canadian Government through CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency).

Rarihokwats spoke for our group. He had an interesting tale. He spoke of the history of the relationship between the Native People of North America and the Canadian Government. It was not a pretty history. In the course of its involvement with native nations, the Canadian Government had employed every disruptive and controlling mechanism that all the other imperial nations, such as Spain and the U.S. and Britain had ever employed in their quest for goods and territory.

This is why, Rarihokwats said, he had been strangely, though pleasantly surprised initially when the Canadian Government seemed to be moving its resources to help the native peoples of Guatemala. It had not been pleasant long, however, because the particular history of his effort to work with Canada to help in Guatemala had been riddled with as much miscommunication, deliberate or otherwise, as all similar past attempts by native peoples to work with the government. Rarihokwats told how he had written the Canadian Consulate in Guatemala to offer any assistance the White Roots of Peace group could give, how the group was referred to an official in Ottawa "for liaison" who had left his post months before, how visits to External Affairs offices in Ottawa to coordinate plans were met with blank looks like "where's Guatemala?"

He told how the group had been promised tools and blankets, and the use of the Canadian base camp, and how those promises had faded away. And then he gently began to hint that the primary obligation of the group was to the indigenous people of the village of Poaquil, how the group was working at their direction, and that it was difficult for us to participate in the on-going project unless it was with a mandate from the people.

Rarihokwats noted that when we had first arrived, at a large public meeting, we were told by the people that the greatest need was in the outlying villages, accessible only by jeep or mule or walking, and that the Canadians were only working in the convenience of the pueblo center, where only 20% of the population lived.

So, he concluded, the fact that we had not formed a close link with the Canadian group upon our arrival was due to the withdrawing of the promises, and to our loyalties to the wishes of the people. Saying that this was an explanation of the past history, he offered to try to find ways in which we could work closely and cooperatively in the future under the direction of the people of Poaquil.

He sat down, and a thick resentful silence came in reply.

Eugenio stood once more. His face was a bit sullen. "The Canadians do a lot of things I don't understand or agree with," he said. "But they are not my concern. They are not the concern of our group here. We are here to help."

The conversation went back and forth. It was lively. What they wanted us to do was work with them, to plug into their housing construction project, and they couldn't understand our reluctance, which boiled down to this: we didn't know very well who they were, but we had seen their work, we had heard what the community had to say, and we had a definite mistrust. Our group had many rough edges, but overall, we shared an awareness of how native communities are disrupted, and we knew that when a government made a massive effort to "help", you had to watch out.

We had many questions. At time, it felt a bit impolite, since we were dinner guests, but there was a need to find out who they were and what direction, if any, they were giving their work.

Eugenio answered most of the questions for them. He was Guatemalteco, educated in the U.S., very upper class. He had that quality of being very open and



direct when the situation was under control, but as the questions probed for a deeper sense of their work, he drew back.

"Why do you suppose," someone asked from our group, "the Canadian Government wants to help Guatemala so much all of a sudden?"

"Oh, I know all about that," Eugenio said. I know the politics involved. But there are pros and cons to everything."

Others from their group spoke up. They seemed a bit impatient. "The way I see it," one said, "you could get bogged down in that stuff. I don't care who we work with or what we build or how we get it done — as long as such and such a family now has a home. Do you know what I mean?"

We didn't feel comfortable with that position, and they seemed nervous about that.

Eugenio reacted most of all. The person in him that had reached out to us was soon lost, and a new Eugenio emerged, very reserved and tight-mouthed, and there was a field of suspicion which formed between him and us and subsequently between his group and us, and we went through the motions of speech and questions and answers, but it was only dead momentum, leading nowhere.

Someone tried to make an analogy between the disastrous problems we were finding in agriculture caused by introduction of chemical technology. He mentioned how we had been cautioning the people against the use of insecticides such as Aldrin 4%, a chemical so dangerous the Canadian and U.S. Governments have banned it — yet it is heavily propagandized for indigenous people to use in Guatemala. It is produced by Bayer Corporation, a multinational company. He told of pointing out the damaging effects of the chemical to each group of villagers his group had contacted.

"Guatemala has its good points and bad points," Eugenio said, speaking distinctly. "The country has a reputation for harsh repressive treatment of its people. But my experience has been that there is an incredible amount of freedom if you don't bother anybody."

Then he added darkly, looking into the distance: "And speaking against Aldrin could be interpreted as bothering someone."

It was a curious statement, enigmatic, almost like a warning. He was very tense. I remember watching him and I wondered what he really knew and what he was capable of. A *naturale* brother from another part of Guatemala was sitting next to me receiving translation, and he lowered his head. "Don't talk anymore," he whispered.

But the talk went on. "How much have you considered the long-range effects of your work?" the question had asked.

"We take it into account," Eugenio said, "but the main thing is to get something done. You could get really philosophical about these things."

A man with us, a Guatemalteco who holds a minor job with a government agency, went a little further than we had. He wanted to know about the nature of the construction itself.

"Two questions," he said. "Why are you building the types of housing you are building? And why do you concentrate your efforts in the main pueblo when it is actually the villages that need the most help?"

Eugenio stared at him. "You want to find out that stuff?" he snapped. "Maybe you should do some work for a while like we do and find out."

(continued on next page)



Not too much later, the circle broke up. There was an empty bottom about it all. I remember watching Hank's face. He went from one to another of the Canadians, exchanging pleasantries and he seemed bewildered. "It seems like we could get along," one of the "Canadians" was saying to him. "Like we are really working toward the same things."

One: Trip Forward

We didn't get along, and we weren't working toward the same goals. This all tended to clarify itself as time passed.

One day I decided to visit their work camp. I took a walk. Here and there as the weeks had progressed, the bits of information and perceptions about the Canadian involvement in San José Poaquil continued to find their way to us. I had a notion that going to their work camp might give me some way to understand what was happening.

The work-camp was at one edge of the pueblo, and from two blocks away, you could hear the power saws. It was the only noise of its kind in those mountains.

I disliked the "Canadians". I remember thinking about that.

I remember that it had rained that morning, and the streets were muddy. There were children playing in the puddles and I passed a big *tanque* of water where several women were washing clothes and talking. I passed a store where a man was loading up two mules.

I liked walking in that town. I liked passing the people because they were always working at something, but they always had the time to stop and chat.

The "Canadians" weren't like that. They were always busy in that way that only Western peoples can be busy and you could sense it. They had trucks and cars and motorcycles and as you neared their camp, which was the center of activity, there was all that noise and charged-up energy and you were very definitely stepping out of one way of being and into another.

The place was busy. There were tons and tons of chipboard, marked "Made In Canada", shiny tan sheets of compressed woodchips glued together, like imitation plywood. The sheets were stacked neatly on four-by-fours, and there were men driving fork-lifts, and men walking rapidly with hammers and saws and tape measures in hand. This grouping of men seemed different from the groups of Indian men we had been meeting with. They were in work-crews assembling the wood and fashioning out the sides of houses. By the road, there was a wood-shed of an office. The local foremen and one or two of the "Canadians" came in and out of it. They had clipboards and pens in hand and they checked things off.

I took a look around. One of the Canadian women came up. Her name was Dede. She was a Guatemalan citizen from the capital, but she had light blonde hair and she spoke flawless English.

Dede had that quality that all of them had — she was friendly, in a smiley sort of way, and she was fresh. "I'm glad you came," she said, as if nothing had ever happened between our groups. "It'll give me a chance to explain what we are doing."

I listened for a while to what they were doing. Their initial goal had been to build 600 houses in the pueblo and nearby villages, Dede said, but that number had been cut to 300. They were training people, she said, and they hoped to leave behind the tools and

some of the many vehicles, and the idea was that a group of local men would continue the construction and then their group would be cut back and do you understand, she said jokingly, we don't want to be here forever — we are not into colonizing anybody.

It felt sticky within me. She was likeable enough, and I didn't mean to make her nervous, and yet I was there trying to find out more precisely why I disliked them so.

I knew this much: they were like so many young white folks I knew in North America, sons and daughters of the well-seated, who had renounced the source of their bad habits and wanted to work toward betterment. And yet, what did they do?

We walked a little. Some of the men looked up from their work and some did not. I found out that the design for their houses had come from only one man, an architect, and that they had improved on it as they had worked on.

A man came up, a well-muscled man in his middle thirties. He was one of the local foremen. He had a message for Dede, and she had to go. She left me with him.



— AKWESASNE NOTES
photo by Francis Wardle

A boy of Poaquil in government school

This produced an awkward situation. He didn't know if he was to show me around, whether to lead me or follow me, or if he had any duty toward me whatsoever. He simply stood by my side. It was strange. It was the first time in San José Poaquil that I had run into that Western situation where a man cannot approach you until he knows if he is your superior or your inferior. A clue.

I walked and he walked with me. After a while, we walked together.

We came to a work-crew. The men stopped what they were doing and nodded. The foreman talked to them. He wanted to know when they'd be done, and one man assured him that it would be by that afternoon.

"Good," said the foreman. "Good."

"Off to the side there was a young man holding a hammer. He wore cracked black shoes that had no laces. I approached him. The foreman was still busy with the other men and I asked this one what he was doing.

"I am attempting to get a house," he said, looking me in the eye and then away.

I asked what his job was.

He motioned with his head for me to follow. He went over to a pile of two-by-fours. "I take one of these," he said, putting three nails in his mouth. "I carry it thus to that flat plank — and I nail them together."

He went ahead and nailed the two pieces together.

The foreman was watching now.

"Then," the young man smiled. He handed me the hammer. "I go back to that pile, pick up a wood, and I repeat my steps."

He did so again. I gave him back the hammer. The foreman nodded.

"It is a thing of teaching people how to work rapidly," the foreman explained. "Each man prepares a step for the next man."

The young man looked at me and shrugged.

I walked on with the foreman. We came to the power saw. The foreman stood next to me with his arms crossed and we watched together. Two men actually did the work, and about another half-dozen watched. The half-dozen seemed startled everytime the board actually split in two. The foreman would laugh.

I caught his eye once and he said: "They are like children."

We walked on. He seemed more comfortable. "How many of you work for the Canadians?" I asked him.

He held up his hand in a bunch. "Not too many," he said, and he winked at me. "Most people in these parts — the Indian — they don't know how to work."

I walked back toward our camp. The foreman's last remark intrigued me. He couldn't have been more than one generation removed from the village of his origin, and already his mind was such that he could side up with a total stranger to scoff at his own people. Another clue.

Meeting Don Chus

On the way back, I ran into Don Chus. He was coming my way. Don Chus is a big, portly man with a broad face and long teeth that show all the time because he likes to laugh.

We shook hands. He wore an old box camera around his neck. I asked him about it.

"I was on my way to the Canadian camp," he said. "I was going to take pictures."

I asked why.

Don Chus smiled, tilting his head. "It is really a curious place," he said. "It may come and go, and I'd like a remembrance of it. Or then again, it may be around a long time and then it would be good to see how it was at the beginning."

We walked a while. Don Chus is a man of respect in San José Poaquil. I told him of my visit to the camp and how the furious pace and the way things were set up left me a negative but still vague sense of it all.



— AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Francis Wardle

Comfortable temporary homes were built in Poaquil after the earthquake

Don Chus smiled widely. He agreed that the way the Canadians zipped around was most curious. "Sometimes," he said, "I wonder if my old camera is fast enough to capture them."

I told him it reminded me of the hectic manner of people in modern U.S. cities.

He nodded. Then he whipped his hand around and around. He seemed to be searching for words. "Maybe," he said, "they are like these mountain winds that spin like a wheel and carry things with them and if you try to look through it, you get dust in your eye."

I liked what he was getting at. A few houses down, there was a family that sold soft drinks and other minor items and Don Chus suggested we get a drink.

The house had been made out of chipboard, and it was obviously one that had been built by the Canadians. Don Chus knocked on the wood. A woman appeared. "Oh, it's Don Chus," she said.

Don Chus presented me to her and we shook hands. Then Don Chus tapped his own nose, sniffing loudly. "Tell me," he said. "Is that coffee I smell — or is it my old nose playing tricks?"

The old woman slapped his arm. "He always times his visits thus," she said to me. Then, to Don Chus, and warmly: "It is just boiling. I will get you some, and for myself also."

We walked inside the house. It was big and empty and had no windows. The old woman walked through it and out a back door to a smaller house made out of poles and cane and an adobe foundation. There was a very old man there and some young girls sitting around a fire, and some hens pecking at the ground.

Don Chus and I waited. He stroked the chipboard wall with his open palm. "If you have a little time," he said, "I have some words concerning these Canadian people."

I had the time. The old woman brought the coffee and sat with us.

"It is without denial," Don Chus began, "that in the beginning, following the earthquake, these people were helpful. There were many of us without shelter, and when you are thus, and also lacking in food, and in some cases even water, it is appreciated for someone to offer you a house."

"This is true," the old woman said. "And remember — it was raining."

"Now, as the weeks and months have mounted," Don Chus continued, "the situation has changed. Something curious has happened. The Canadians are a permanent fixture. They have a living camp and a work camp. They are constantly bringing in new supplies, new equipment. They have a generator that is bigger than the one of the municipality, and they are the biggest employer in the pueblo."

"Well, I suppose this all could be all right, as long as their presence is of benefit to our people. But it is not thus, and I will tell you why:

"Our people, the *indigenas*, must work the soil. It is not often possible for them to leave their fields. The Canadian construction requires thirty days voluntary labor in order to get a house. This leaves many of our people out."

Don Chus crossed his arms at the wrist, and pointed in opposite directions. "The *ladinos* in our pueblo, the merchants, the ones who don't work the land," — and here he leaned forward in a whisper — "the *upper crust*, they have gotten more houses, they have been hired, they are receiving payment, they

are learning the use of the new tools and the connections to bring in the material."

He stopped. He looked at me sideways, watching my eyes. I nodded.

"The Canadians are strengthening the upper crust," I said.

"There you go," he said. "That is my feeling."

"What does it lead to?" I asked him.

"A further separation," he said quickly. "The upper crust here, you see, the ladinos — by and large, they are different from us. They look at the world in a different way. But always, they have been just as poor as us. Now, they have a way to that money."

"It looked like an industry," I said.

He nodded vigorously.

"In 1821," he said, "we got rid of the Spaniards — or so we are told. *We didn't, really.* Then came the North Americans. They are still around. Now the Canadians." He folded his hands on top of one another and made a stack. "They sure are sweet with each other," he said. "And you know why? They all bring the same idea."

He stopped abruptly and turned away. It seemed to me maybe he felt he had said too much. He had finished his cup of coffee and now he thanked the old woman.

We stood. "And the houses," the old woman said hurriedly, like she didn't want to miss this opportunity to speak her mind and her face was very alive with what Don Chus had put forth. "The houses," she said, "they are not so good either."

She took the cups. I thanked her for my coffee. Don Chus petted his old box camera.

Two: Trip Forward

Ron Romero wanted another meeting with the Canadians. He was kind of worked up. "Somebody ought to tell them the bullshit they are pulling," he said.

This was late one night. We were sitting in a tent at our base camp. Ron was a Chicano, a graduate architect, who had given technical assistance to a lot of grassroots construction in New Mexico. I told him of my conversations with Don Chus and he was nodding. "Yeap," he said. That's what they're doing. That's what's going on."

Ron had been working in Paraschaj, one of the more remote villages. The contradictions in the Canadian effort bothered him most particularly, because for several weeks he had been trying, without success, to obtain a few hundred dollars worth of materials for a severely-needed water project there.

"There is so much that people need," he said. "And they're just wasting that stuff."

He had a list of frustrations that local people had let him in on about the chipboard housing. It went like this. The houses were too big, and constructed out of proportion to the small size of the people. They were all the same size. They had no windows. They had no place to cook in. They were made out of foreign materials, and thus created the need to further construct with that. The roofs were made out of tin, which along with the chipboard and the large size, made them cold and nearly impossible to insulate. They had no earthquake-proof foundation, no cross-reinforcements, and the doors opened inward, which every manual advises against in earthquake country.

"It's crazy," Ron said. "Most people I talked to just feel like the Canadians never consulted them about anything. Like this group just came in and built a whole bunch of houses and now many people don't even live in them — they use them for storage, or make a workplace out of them."

"Well, they ain't making any friends out here, that's for sure," he said. "Even if they're giving stuff away."

Of course, Canada was not "giving stuff away." In the last several years,

Canadian corporations have acquired extensive mining interests in northern Guatemala — a concession they obtained through no small amount of controversy and internal pressure and accusations of bribery. And the company that was able to get a sale of \$4-million worth of chipboard and 2x4s didn't give it away to the Canadian Government, either. I told Ron my feeling was that this was all a simple and calculated effort to look good at one end while extracting profits at another.

Ron agreed, shaking his head. He wondered, though, where the hip kids at the camp fit in and wanted to arrange a last meeting with them before we pulled out. I encouraged him to do so.



I told Ron of one visit I had made to the Canadian Consulate in the capital city and how they had big photographic displays of the houses and the crews working, and it was an air-conditioned modern office — carpeted and with receptionists and electric typewriters and large glass windows overlooking the city and how the Canadian consul had a bodyguard armed with a poised chrome sub-machine gun and sunglasses and Ron laughed.

No one could question that they weren't *nice* people. When one of our people had gone to the capital on business and had been jailed because his hair, grown long in the manner of his Cree people, had caused police to think he was a "hippie", the Canadian consul and his staff had gone to every effort to help gain his release, even though he was not a citizen of Canada.

— he was off in the capital meeting with the Canadian consul.

Ron was direct. He wasn't hard-nosed or angry, but he wanted to get to the point, which for him was to pass on the criticism and open up discussion, hoping some good would come of it.

Nothing immediate came of it. They were a group, and we were a group. We took our inner circle that night, and so we were cohesive of thought. They were friends to one another. There was no in-between. Before the evening was over, I was sorry to have encouraged it.

We talked and talked. Finally, the discussion turned philosophical. We all relaxed a little.

Different persons in our group went once more through the motions of explaining the process of colonialism — we talked history, we talked economics, we talked about how that process moves cancerously in its expansion and how everything that comes in contact with it, everything that doesn't consciously stand in resistance to it, becomes a part of it.

They disagreed. They were imbued with the notion that one can disagree with history. It became like a college rap-session — point and counter-point — a debate.

I talked sometimes, and sometimes I sat back and watched. The more serious the



This opened it up. "Seriously," one of them said. "I think you guys think too much."

"Well," came the response. "And you don't seem to be thinking at all."

"We are *doing*!" the one named Dede said.

"Doing what?"

"Building."

"Building what?"

"Houses."

"That people can't use!" Ron said.

"That's what you say!"

There it was. We were going in circles. They thought we were being "paranoid". They thought we were "arrogant". They thought, in the words of one of their group, to which they all nodded, "There is no truth. There is no way of judging good and bad."

They didn't want to see, and we couldn't make them see, that they were playing into a way of doing things that was so huge and complex that it didn't even have to conspire to perpetuate itself.

"Ask yourself," someone said at one point. "Why are you here?"

"To help build houses," one of them said.

"Why is Eugenio here?"

"To help build houses."

"Why is the Canadian Government here?"

"Oh hell, who knows?"

"They know. You can bet your ass *they* know."

— AKWESASNE NOTES
photo by Juan Reyna

A young Mayan couple: will they be able to plan their future with their people



We had found the U.S. consul totally useless, and the persistent efforts of the Canadian consulate had made us feel very appreciative.

But at this other level, this level of how the Canadian Government relates to the native people of Guatemala, we were equally as apprehensive.

A Faulty Lesson

They received us at night, around their long kitchen table, about eight of them. There were about the same number of us.

We sat toward one end and they sat toward the other. Eugenio wasn't there

discussion got for our group, the lighter their mood seemed to get.

Once, Ron brought up a rumor we had heard that their group had applied for a major grant of money — millions of dollars — to build a plaza in the pueblo. This had distressed us greatly because conversations with the traditional leaders had produced a whole range of perceptions about the negative and fragmenting effects of such a construction.

One of the "Canadians" laughed. "Oh yeah, sure," he said. "We are going to bring a huge MacDonalds in on a helicopter and drop it down in the middle of the market."

"Hey," one of them said. "They are giving us the materials, the tools — if it is a matter of being used, I think we are using them more than them us."

We laughed about that. It was hard to believe, and a little depressing, that all these folks had been taught to *think* in college, that they were the cream of the American crop — that they were working every day and working hard, and trying to be of service, and yet they refused to ask some basic questions, like, for whom? And where was the voice of the people? and like was help helpful? And like how could the people gain control over their own destiny?

We left on that note. Everything that needed to be said had been said, and none of it had made a difference.

House Building In Panimasiguan

by Francis Wardle

After setting up base in San Jose Poaquil, we started to trek the steep paths and rough roads to visit all the villages in the area. In each village, the same scenario developed: a meeting with the people, discussions of their needs and our ability to help, and possible commitments by one or more members of the group to remain and help in that village.

We entered Panimasiguan as the shadows began to lengthen. We came over a rough road that descends sharply down a mountainside to a fast stream, and then twists its way straight back up again to a corn-covered plateau. We walked past rubble that once was a school, and then descended another slope to the village of Panimasiguan.

We were told some weeks later that the people did not believe us when we first came because so many outsiders came and promised the village help and then never returned.

I and three others committed ourselves to building a model, earthquake-proof home for a man named Margarito and his family. I liked the village, nestled in the valley away from other villages, and its people — shy, curious, friendly.

Carlos, a Chicano from Denver, and Bruce, a blond-haired recent graduate of Antioch College, climbed the steep path to the building site, past the black and white goat we would see so often, past the pine tree that is scarred from people hacking off resin-soaked wood to use for fire-starters and torches to illuminate houses.

Margarito and his 17-year-old son, Juan, would help us with the mudding. It's hard work, especially when the mud begins to stick to the blade of the azedon. Juan fetches water with two 5-gallon drums strung on a yoke held by a band on his forehead. He carries the water from a waterhole down by the soccerfield, the lowest point in the village.

When we had first arrived in Poaquil, we were surprised by rows of identical chipboard and corrugated-metal-roofed houses. We noticed ugly metal frame and asbestos-sheet churches, and concrete-block and reinforced-concrete-with-brick homes for the well-to-do under construction.

But our observation of the situation in which the mountain native people were living was that manufactured materials from other countries wasn't too good an idea. It was clear to us that most of the other 'help' agencies in the area were concerned with offering immediate physical help to the earthquake survivors — and gaining whatever advantage that group wanted to gain from the earthquake. In helping the native peoples with physical solutions — homes, schools, churches — these groups were ignoring and often destroying important non-physical aspects — pride, identity, independence, the ability to solve one's own problems. We did not want to do the same thing.



The chipboard and corrugated roofing communicated to the hard-working self-sufficient native people that the earthquake had destroyed their ability to supply their families with shelter. It told them they were now dependent on the wealthier industrial nations in some sort of global welfare scheme. Even if the materials are given away now, how will people ever be able to replace them? The only reliable source of cash for the

Indian is \$1.50 a day working in dreadful conditions on the coast. And the steep, winding paths make transportation of industrial building materials awkward, hard work, and expensive.

After consultations with the agencies already at work, studying various model homes in the area, and consulting with an architect and engineer in our White Roots group, we designed a house which could be built almost entirely with local materials that would be attractive, comfortable, economical — and safe. Two of us arranged to sleep in a small room which served as a store in Margarito's present small home, and one of us slept in a tent next to the building site.



Carlos prepares cane for the mud walls

Margarito's small store is down the cornlined path from the school. The dry dirt patch in front is littered with candy wrappers and bottle caps. Usually someone is buying something — one cigarette, soda pop, hand-made candles, or candy. Often people come by just to talk. Now even more people collect at the store because of the strange newly-arrived builders.

For the first week of building, we leveled the site, dug the holes, and began to construct the frame. Margarito told us what size he wanted his house — 6 varas by 5 varas, with windows 5 quarters by 4 quarters. A vara is measured from the center of the chest to the end of the middle finger; a quarter is the width of a hand. He made a vara stick from a bamboo cane, and we were ready to layout the house.

The wooden round posts for the corners and squared lumber for the rest of the frame came from the old home a few hundred yards away. We carried the timber over a deep crack that marks an 18-inch shift in the surface of the ground. The old adobe home was completely destroyed by the earthquake as the adobe walls fell inward.

Although it was difficult cutting joints from irregular lumber, there was something strangely sacred about working with 2x4s that Margarito had cut by hand. He said he and another man had cut them at a rate of 12 a day. Working without finished lumber and electric equipment was very slow — but somehow it was more satisfying and I felt more in control of the process.

We've been invited to a fiesta at the school. Just as we finish dinner, a young man comes to get us. We stand around and give English translations to words the children think up. There's lots of laughter at the sounds of the words. It gets dark, but there is no sign of the fiesta. Almost two hours transpire.

Finally, the teacher arrives and everyone enters the low school building. Apparently the fiesta is for a national holiday. First, the school children all stand and sing the Guatemalan National Anthem. They sing with great enthusiasm — but the anthem goes on and on and on. Next, Juan and two other young men play a couple of pieces on their guitars. They seem self-conscious, with their backs turned to the audience,

but the music is enjoyable. The teacher asks us to sing a song of our choice, but after a hasty nervous discussion, we back out.

Candles in chalk boxes and stuck on low wooden beams provide the light. The children sit on the dirt floor which is covered with pine needles — the boys on one side and the girls on the other. The men sit on benches against the cane walls, and the women and young children sit on the floor in the center. The teacher sits at the table in front with a book and a cane across the table top. Two girls stand each side of the teacher and read off the program from papers they shyly hold in their hands.

One of the men picks up a bottle and explains something in Cakchiquel, creating much laughter. He repeats, then spins the bottle on the floor to illustrate. Everyone laughs again, and he repeats it several times. Finally, the man feels that everyone understands the game, so he gives the bottle to another man who spins it on the floor. It stops spinning, and ends up pointing to one of the women. Everyone giggles — other men give the bottle-spinner courage. Finally, he gets up off the bench, walks across the pine-needled floor, and shakes the young lady's hand. Everyone cheers — and that's the end of the game.

The children sing again, and then the fiesta develops into a meeting to elect members for various village committees. The children get restless, and the teacher tries to keep order with the cane. The ideas of having committees for agriculture and education and reconstruction were introduced by agencies from industrial 'democratic' nations after the earthquake. As the men continue the meeting, the women listen attentively, holding sleeping children and nursing others. Children stretch out on the floor and sleep. It's late and there is no end to the meeting in sight. Finally, we excuse ourselves, carefully picking our way out over the sleeping children.

The building is going well, if somewhat slower than most of us are used to. It is enjoyable to do everything by hand — a good feeling to work with natural materials and with people who are building to create a house rather than building for money or because it's a job.



— AKWESASNE NOTES photos by Francis Wardle
Juan and friends adding music to the construction of the new house

Margarito seems to know everyone. He would greet some people, stop and talk with others, and asked everyone if they had a chicken for sale. As we approached Panimasiguan, the path became smaller again. The sun was high in the sky and shortly before midday we arrived ready for work again.

I am impressed by the people and the life-style. The hard work, simple life, traditional clothing, and friendliness affected me. I was impressed by the children and their importance in the community. From an early age, children help with the work of their family.

The family members help each other. They all sleep together in one small room, and they often take a sweatbath together — including the one-month-old baby. Margarito is home for every meal.

Once we finished the frame for the building, we invited people from the village to observe how we had built the

frame with hand-chiseled joints nailed together, and how we designed the foundation with four corner posts extending beyond the bottom of the walls and into the ground six inches. They rest on 18 inches of crushed rock that helps drain off water and offers a secure foundation. The boys and girls always do things separately at school, and they have separate duties at home, and their parents have separate but equally-important activities to perform to hold the family and community together.



The final stages for the building were covering the walls and the roof. For the walls, Margarito collected dried and cut fibers from the magay plant, and long bamboo canes. The canes were tied to the frame wall with the fibers. Mud was made by mixing dirt with water, and adding pine needles. The lumps and stones are removed to create a soft, black paste. This mixture is then slapped onto the woven cane framework, smoothed with a trowel, and allowed to dry, leaving a brown-textured solid natural-looking wall that keeps the heat and the cold out, and is safe in earthquakes.

One day just as we were completing the house, a well-dressed young man arrived in Panimasiguan. He bought a Coke and offered us a drink; he bought some cigarettes and offered us a smoke. But he offered neither to the group of local men who gathered around wondering why this city man came to their village. He struggled up the hill to our house as we and the villagers followed behind. After looking at the structure, he began to talk to the men about building new homes. He told them his organization would give free lamina roofing to each family in the village that built an earthquake-safe house frame like the one we had built. He was from CARE.

On our last day in Panimasiguan, we completed our work, and struggled up the long steep pull for the last time. Our packs were very heavy — and our hearts were a little heavy too. Good friends, good people.

The vast green valley spread below me as I hit the high land.



Medical Care In Guatemala

I went to Guatemala as a Licensed Practical Nurse to help treat and increase my knowledge of disease. Instead, I found myself presented with lessons on how to live harmoniously and thus in health.

The relation between a sick person and the person effecting a cure is highly personal and involves the trust of someone in a more-or-less dependent position. One is entrusted with the preservation of the fragile life force, or entrusted at least not to harm it. It is not a casual relationship — though this is not always apparent in the attitude of many doctors who are more preoccupied with their gold score than the effects of combinations of chemicals they have prescribed.

There were others with medical knowledge on the trip, and although we were all conscious of disease as something more than an "invasion of germs", nevertheless we began to have our conflicts, resulting from a combination of egoism, dietary beliefs, the degree to which we rejected Western medicine or were involved with imperialism (as each of us understood that).

And so we arrived in Guatemala with a complete antipathy to medicine — and yet we had each volunteered to go to Guatemala to help with medical problems! I suffer this split in my work constantly — mistrust of medicine as a means of curing, and yet witness to the vast need of the sick and suffering, as the result of unnatural and inharmonious living. We need to treat the chronic sickness, but instead we are confronted with the immediacy of the symptoms.

We Look At Ourselves

The border of Guatemala looks like something out of an espionage movie — a barricade is lifted by an armed guard to allow cars to pass after they have been checked out. Night had fallen as we headed into the Guatemalan mountains, and it was difficult to see the landscape, but there was a sense of excitement in our group that we had finally reached Guatemala.

We had been traveling for nine days, and by now there was a feeling of unity among the people who had been total strangers a few days before. The group had formed in answer to a request for people skilled in carpentry, medicine, and agriculture to give aid to the victims of the February 4 earthquake. The idea was that native people of the North could give special strength to native people of the South, and to gain strength as well.

Yet, there was little response from native people, and to meet the emergency situation in Guatemala, the decision had been made to take non-native people.

But why hadn't native people volunteered to do disaster relief for their relatives to the South?

The question was very important in our minds, and was the first of many questions that constantly kept arising during our one month in Guatemala. It seemed like the trip was one continual set of basic questions: what do we do? why are we here? how do I relate to what is going on around me?

Many of the basics of preventative health care were absent in Guatemala — malnutrition, lack of water, internal parasites, unsanitary living conditions, dangerous working conditions were common. Yet, the people are not plagued with heart disease, diabetes, cancer and the other fruits of civilization. The indigenous people of Guatemala are a strong, hardy people — beautiful teeth, skin and hair.

While in San Jose Poaquil, I tried to fathom the feelings of the people toward disease and curing. Perhaps I was not there long enough, or was viewing the situation through my own blind spot, but I felt a void. Knowledge and concepts that had kept these people going through the centuries were no longer present. It was the same void I sensed in the religious life — a gap felt from the loss of the Old Ways, not yet replaced by something else, despite the best efforts of the evangelists and Sandoz Pharmaceuticals.

The strangest parts of Western medical practices had been adopted by the Cakchiquel people of Poaquil. Due to the wholesale treatment of almost any disease with large amounts of antibiotics in the local clinic — which one cannot deny helps to cause symptoms to disappear — we found people expecting miracles.

Our inability to perform expected miracles was one of the most frustrating aspects of our work there. There was a blind trust in anything prescribed by a Western nurse or doctor. Injections were a cure-all — it wasn't the medicine inside the syringe, but the act of injecting that was the panacea. People came with headaches, scabies, *susto* (scare), asking for injections, and when we refused to continue the farce, they left extremely disappointed.

We were proudly told by an agency official that after the earthquake, thousands of sedatives and water injections had been sent to devastated areas to "help the people deal with their grief."

Yes, Western medicine could do anything. We encountered a man in a distant village who had broken his shoulder blade in a fall from a horse. Since this would interfere with his work in the cornfield and in the maintenance of his family, the doctor decided it best to send him to the nearest clinic, which

was some distance away. It would be a painful journey by bus, over roads that left a healthy person exhausted. Upon arriving, he would have to spend the night waiting his turn at the clinic. I sent him off in the dawn with his wife, an injection for his pain, and money for food. We didn't see him when he returned, but assumed everything was all right. One day, we were at his village again, and we stopped by his house. There, in the same spot we had found him before, his shoulder in the same careful sling his wife had made, he was sitting. And next to him was the "cure" he'd been given: three glossy black & white X-rays. We never did learn why the clinic had not set his broken bone.

We encountered one type of medical problem with which I had little experience — insecticide poisoning. The known and more extreme cases showed up as nerve damage — spasms, convulsions, numbness, headaches — or as respiratory distress, with symptoms of heart palpitations, difficult breathing, fear. How many people did we treat for these symptoms, never guessing the real cause was insecticide poisoning? If the people continue to use insecticides as they are being encouraged to do, there will be a gradual poisoning of an entire People. The insecticides are accumulative — the body does not readily rid itself of them. The natural people of Guatemala are reliant upon ground holes and streams for water — how long before every source is contaminated?

One of the most satisfying things we medical people did was set up an information-exchange program with the *comadronas*, the midwives. Guatemala has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the Western Hemisphere. Perhaps due to malnutrition and successive childbearing, many women give birth to premature babies that have little chance for survival. Yet children are the only real gift a man and woman can exchange in a country that demands and takes all. The men were as concerned as the women, and even overcame their extreme embarrassment and the giggles of the women to act as interpreters for us, since most of the women speak only their own native language. We discussed the problems and customs of childbearing. The *comadronas* were vital, intelligent women, extremely interested in learning all they could to help the families they work with. Of all people

we met, the midwives were the most knowledgeable in the use of herbs.

There was a tremendous lack of medical support for the San Jose Poaquil area. A clinic staffed by two nurses, one doctor, and one medical student was given a maintenance budget of \$200 for a three-month period. As if that were not bad enough, the clinic's doctor spent much of her time in Guatemala City, taking with her the chauffeur-driven vehicle which was the only available transportation for the clinic's work.

Although 80% of the people of the pueblo live in the outlying areas, the medical staff rarely visited there. Maybe that accounts for their relatively good health. The people also used their *temescal*, a type of sweatbath found outside almost every house, and used in sickness and in health.

I think my greatest understanding of Guatemala took place after we left Poaquil. Visiting towns untouched by the earthquake and the foreign occupation of relief workers that followed it, I glimpsed a graceful unhurried way of life. After Guatemala, I spent a month in the Mayan territories of Mexico, living amongst the ruins of ancient religious cities of the Mayans. In the jungle, I began to feel life as man was intended to live it.

I started to feel the real secrets of the Mayans were not enclosed inside the awesome silent pyramids and temples, but trembled outside on every leaf and flower. I found the Mayans were using penicillin in mold form long before it was "discovered" by modern scientists. They possess an extensive botanical knowledge not only of herbs to cure disease, but herbs to induce health. They knew how to use plants and elixirs to promote the ecstatic union of man and the universe.

The split and conflict I arrived with began to heal as I saw the only true way to health is through living harmoniously with nature. I became aware that food is only a small part of our alimentation — our real nourishment comes from the sun, the air, the rain and our mother the earth. She gives us everything we need if we care for her.

There are no shortcuts with technology — only costly detours that take us away from true health, harmony, and union on earth.

— Deborah Carter

It was 5 a.m. when we arrived at the Pueblo of San Jose Poaquil. The local bus was leaving for Guatemala City, its horn sounding errie and abrupt in the darkness. We rested a bit, but the sound of barefeet scurrying to set up booths of fish, vegetable, fruits and materials for market day woke us up — our yellow school bus was parked where the plaza had been before the earthquake, and where the market was to be held.

There were stares and giggles from the people. Some of us were dismayed that our presence was so noticeable. Though we must have looked strange, we were to find out that the people were getting accustomed to being invaded by foreign work crews. The Canadians had been there for months, and the evangelists, with groups of starry-eyed teenagers from the U.S., had been building fortress-like cement-block steel-beam churches throughout the area.

The earthquake had opened Guatemala to the world, and all kinds of groups had used the opportunity to go there and establish contact.

Again, questions: were we any different from the rest of the invaders?

Reality began to grow in our minds that first day. The signs of reconstruction were everywhere, but not of the kind we had hoped to see.

Imagine a country of lush green forest with adobe and red-tile houses which give the landscape a unique character. Now the scene shifts — the houses are chipboard with galvanized corrugated roofing reflecting the brilliant sun. Instant suburbia.

More questions: have the people changed since the earthquake?

In the cities, they say no, but here in

the indigenous villages, the change is obvious. The relief operations are creating an entirely new economic structure with all the ugly side effects of dependency, materialism, status and competition. Those elements, present to some degree in almost every people, are being enhanced, exploited, and used to gain power in the new situation.

But the new reality we found forced each of us to readjust and re-evaluate the situation. It seemed that not all of us could do that, or that different ones found different realities. Some tended to build a wall around themselves and become passive observers. Or typical Yankee tourists. Some retreated to safety by going back to their homes.

But there was Ron, who stayed on with the people of Parachej to help form a cooperative of men to build a clean water system for the village. There were Duncan, Kai and Wilkie who demonstrated over and over that chili and water and garlic will get rid of the bugs that were a plague on the beans, a method much cheaper and safer than poisonous insecticides. There was the group who built a model earthquake-proof home for Margarito, using mud and cane.

And there was Anias, a Seneca, who stood up calmly at one meeting when he heard the people say they needed books for learning English, and said: "I am ashamed to go to ceremonies in the religion of my people, for I do not know my language. I learned English, and not Seneca. I ask you, please, don't do this to your children."

As we all began to understand the situation and ourselves, we realized we were speaking of something much bigger than material aid, and that our manner

was not imperialistic. Over and over we heard the message of the White Roots of Peace. Over and over, we could see the people listening intently, and in subtle ways, we saw them strengthened to know that people far away who believed in the natural world and the ways of the Creator had found them in their tiny place on the earth.

After a month of work in Poaquil, we again boarded the bus and drove north. We reflected on our stay. Had it made any difference that we had been there? We knew we hadn't made much of a dent in the problems we had seen, but we knew we had touched the lives of other humans in a unique way — and we had been much touched by those we had met.

When we returned to Akwesasne, we were met with a new question: why go to Guatemala when there is much work to be done right here? Persons must answer that question in their own ways. For myself, I see a country of the United States, where greed and Western culture have devastated a beautiful land and exploited and dispossessed native peoples. Somewhere along the way, this process could have been stopped. Now in Guatemala, we see the process starting up again — the pathetic imitation of Western education in the schools, the consumerism of Guatemala City, the exploitation of native people by foreign corporations. The forces are powerful, but maybe, if natural peoples would help each other out...

In Guatemala, the natural people are in the majority. They have survived oppression with a sense of dignity and knowledge of their identity. They have much strength to be shared with the natural peoples of the world.

— Dorothy Thomas

GANIENGHAGA

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE
MOHAWK PEOPLE

Long before the coming of the Europeans, and even possibly dating to the first permanent human habitation of the area thousands of years ago, the territory known today as Eastern New York State, the St. Lawrence River Valley, and areas of Vermont and Quebec were occupied by a people who called themselves Kanienkehake, sometimes spelled Ganienghaga, or the People of the Flint Stone.

The oral tradition of the people is confirmed by the most reliable archeological and historical evidence — this entire area, stretching east from the land of the Oneidas all the way to the territory of the Algonquins near the Atlantic, south to the Catskill Mountains, and north into the St. Lawrence River Valley near the present site of Montreal, has been the homeland of the Kanienkehake.

English-speaking people call them the Mohawks. They belong to a Confederation they call Hotinonsonni, or People of the Longhouse, in which the Mohawks are known as the Eastern Door Keepers. The British called that confederacy the Five Nations, and after the Tuscaroras sought shelter among them in 1712, the Six Nations. The French called them the Iroquois. Other founding nations of the League of the Great Peace are Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca.

Probably the earliest recorded contact with the European peoples occurred in 1609, when the French explorer Samuel de Champlain was exploring the St. Lawrence River area. Prior to Champlain's arrival, there had been conflict between the Mohawks and their Algonquin neighbors, possibly over an incident during which several Hotinonsonni men had been killed during a hunting expedition with Algonquin hunters.

Champlain arrived in search of wealth, and was specifically interested in generating some kind of trade in beaver pelts with the Algonquins in the area, and their allies. He demonstrated his firearms to them, letting them see for the first time the power of guns, and to secure the deal, the French agreed to take care of the Mohawks for the Algonquins.

Thus Champlain accompanied his newly-found business partners, whom the Kanienkehake called "Atirontaks" or bark-eaters, the name of the mountains in the center of Mohawk territory. The warparty encountered about 200 Kanienkehake on the lake which now is named after Champlain. The first volley of gunfire killed three men, and the second volley caused so much confusion that the Mohawks retreated, leaving twelve warriors who had been taken prisoner. Following this battle, the young men of the Atirontaks proposed to their French colleagues that they proceed to annihilate the whole of the People of the Longhouse.

That episode earned Champaign the title of "Father of New France" and represented the conversion of a feud between neighbors to a full-scale struggle for survival in the North American eastern forests of the natural peoples living there. It was a struggle only a few nations would survive.

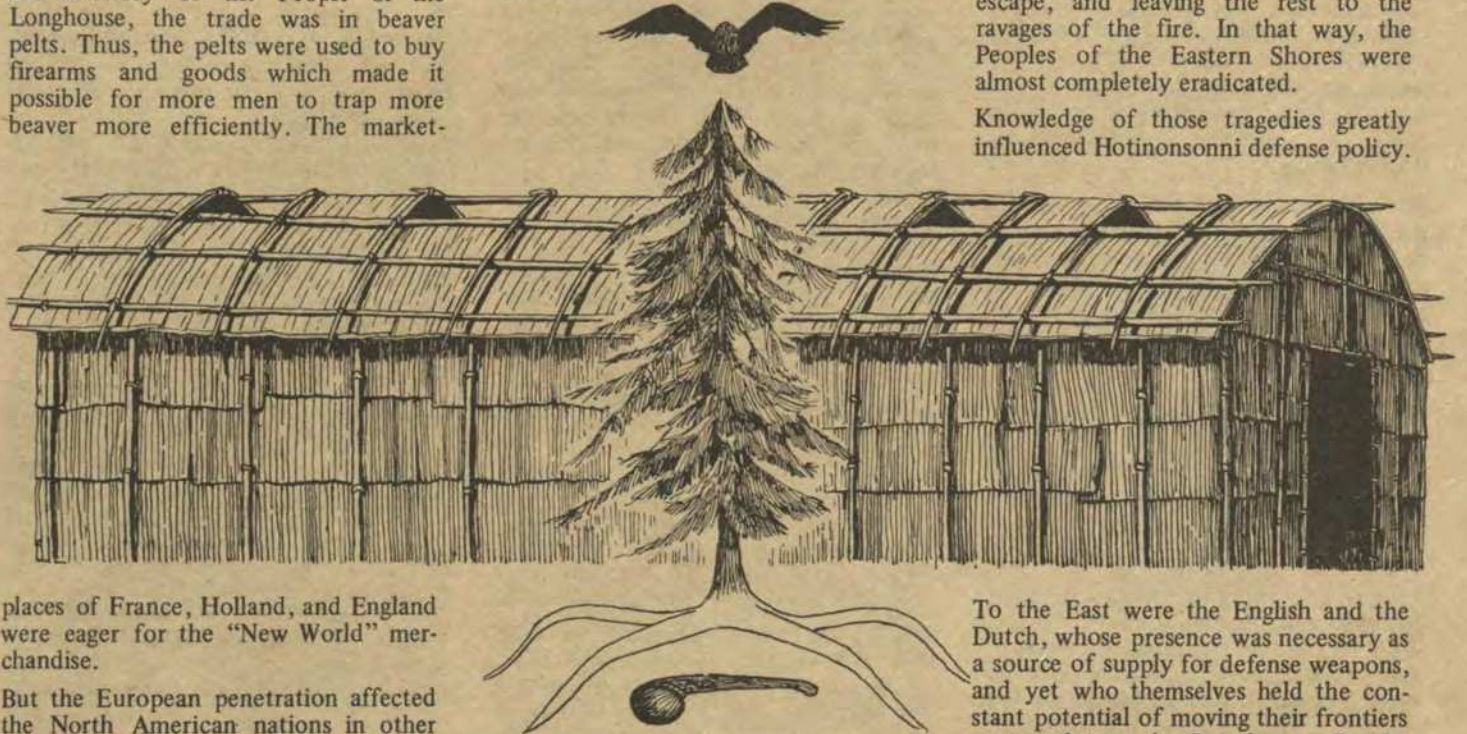
The trade in beaver pelts and the now-necessary weaponry introduced factors never before encountered by the native peoples. Trade meant that long routes over which goods had to be transported had to be "secured" — and the only way that was possible, was for the entire area to be in friendly hands. Any potential disrupter of the trade had to be "pacified", or eliminated.

It is true that there were conflicts among the human beings living in North America prior to the coming of the Europeans, but those encounters do not appear to have been genocidal in nature. Nations on this land would conduct wars for long periods of time, even generations, but during the course of the conflict, there were relatively few

casualties. But warfare, as introduced by the Europeans, brought large-scale casualties and even the extermination of whole groups.

And with the introduction of firearms, war had become a deadly business. It was made more deadly because the European strategy of penetration for economic purposes was to stimulate warfare among the native Peoples over who would have the goods of trade. In the territory of the People of the Longhouse, the trade was in beaver pelts. Thus, the pelts were used to buy firearms and goods which made it possible for more men to trap more beaver more efficiently. The market-

peace and coexistence with great determination. It was their diplomacy, not force, which made them great nations among nations. They were bound together by a constantly-renewed agreement to follow a constitution which remains today one of the most remarkable political achievements of mankind. It presents a highly-complex interweaving of principles and practical strategy so that its principles could become a reality.



places of France, Holland, and England were eager for the "New World" merchandise.

But the European penetration affected the North American nations in other ways from the moment of contact. The natural economy, cultures, politics and military affairs became totally altered. Nations learned that to be without firearms meant physical annihilation, and that to be without access to beaver pelts meant no means to buy firearms.

It was no wonder that the Europeans wanted to colonize and control the Hotinonsonni. They had a culture marvelously adapted to the environment or large hardwood trees and great varieties of plant life of all descriptions. Contrary to popularized myths, theirs was a very affluent world, in which people often had access to great quantities of fish and animals, as well as wild roots, berries, nuts. The culture demanded vigorous and strict conservation of the environment.

People of the Longhouse confirm that the accounts of early travellers are true — at the time the Europeans arrived, and for some years after, the natural world bountifully met the needs of the Peoples. The Hotinonsonni territory was shared with vast herds of deer, elk, moose and the forests had ample bear, beaver, and rabbits. In addition to the provisions of the forest, the People raised large crops of corn, beans, squash, and some other domesticated plants.

The Hotinonsonni culture developed with many characteristics European people would associate with religion. But for the People of the Longhouse, there was no word for religion — the spiritual way was the Way of Life.

To be a Mohawk meant following a way shared by other People of the Longhouse, in which the natural world was seen as a gift of love from the Creator of Life. The culture developed around a philosophy of a lifetime of thanksgiving to the Creation for all the things which human beings need to be healthy and strong in spirit.

Long ago, the Mohawks were the first of five North American nations to accept and develop a form of government based upon the principle that governments have as their primary function the responsibility to halt the abuse of human beings by other human beings. In short, the government of the People of the Longhouse is based upon principles promoting peace among peoples, and peace was determined as something that could, in most cases, be negotiated.

The Hotinonsonni became famed statesmen because they carried the message of

Of the Hotinonsonni, historian Horatio Hale wrote: "Instead of a race of rude and ferocious warriors, we find... a kindly and affectionate people, full of sympathy for their friends in distress, considerate to their women, tender to their children, anxious for peace, and imbued with a profound reverence for their Constitution and its authors. We become conscious of the fact that the aspect in which these Indians have presented themselves to the outside world has been in a large measure deceptive and fictitious. The ferocity, craft and cruelty, which have been merely the natural accompaniments of wars of self-preservation, and no more indicated their genuine character than the war paint, plume and tomahawk of the warrior displayed the customary guise in which he appeared among his own people... The persistent desire for peace, pursued for centuries in federal unions, and in alliances and treaties with other nations, has been manifested by few as steadily as by the countymen of Hiawatha [meaning Aionwentha, one of the founding leaders of the Confederacy]. The sentiment of universal brotherhood which directed their polity has never been so fully developed in any branch of the Aryan race unless it may be found incorporated in the religious quietism of Buddha and his followers."

The European Presence Grows

Shortly after the encounter on Lake Champlain, the Hotinonsonni began trading with the Dutch along the Hudson River and were supplied with firearms. French historians recount that the People of the Longhouse were skillful at the strategies of battle, and within a short time, their Algonquin neighbors were defeated — the French had not taken seriously their pledge to help them.

So intense was the need for European goods, especially arms, that by 1640, beaver was becoming scarce in the Hotinonsonni territory. Pressure on the European frontiers was increasing steadily, as was the warfare between the European colonizers. The Mohawks were well aware of what was happening to the east — the Dutch, shortly after their arrival, began a series of wars of genocide against the natural peoples living along the lower Hudson River, and in every case, those wars ended with the utter annihilation of the Indian

peoples, including every man, woman and child.

The situation in the English settlements was not much different. The wars along the Connecticut River reduced the once-populous Pequot and Narragansett Nations to a condition of slavery. The common strategy was for the European forces to surround the villages of the People, and to set fire to the buildings, destroying all those who attempted to escape, and leaving the rest to the ravages of the fire. In that way, the Peoples of the Eastern Shores were almost completely eradicated.

Knowledge of those tragedies greatly influenced Hotinonsonni defense policy.

To the East were the English and the Dutch, whose presence was necessary as a source of supply for defense weapons, and yet who themselves held the constant potential of moving their frontiers westward into the Longhouse. To the North were the French, who were supplying arms to the western nations, and who threatened to gain a monopoly over the beaver trade, which was increasingly centered to the north and west of Lake Ontario and Erie.

The Mohawks, the Eastern Doorkeepers of the Longhouse, were subject to the greatest contact with the European invaders, and also suffered the most from that contact. The French, because of their attempts to push their trade routes westward, were clearly the most direct threat to the survival of the Kanienkehake. The French made repeated attempts to send missionaries, especially Jesuits, among the nations of the League, because missions were the major tool of propaganda of the European nations. Missionaries then —



as today — are expected to carry more than the message of Christianity. They serve as lay ambassadors of their culture, splitting off individuals from families, families from villages, villages from nations one by one. Some priests even served as leaders of troops going into battle. The early Jesuit attempts in Mohawk territory were rejected.

From the moment of French contact until the final defeat of the French in North America in 1763, there were alternate periods of peace and warfare between the Hotinonsonni and France. In 1666, France invaded the Mohawk country in an attempt to lay waste and destroy the nation. However, the French failed to draw the Mohawks into a decisive battle, and they returned to their forts having destroyed several villages and killed some old men. The treaty concluding this war, however, provided for the first successful penetration of French missionaries.

As for the British, there were treaties of peace and friendship and alliance in 1679 and 1684, which turned out to be one-sided deals. Although the British were quick to demand that the People of the Longhouse come to their aid, when the League was in struggle against the French, the British were unfaithful allies. The position of the League during this period — and indeed, consistently to this day — was best summarized by

the message to the Governor of Canada delivered by the Onondaga leader, Garangula, in 1684:

"Hear me, Governor of Canada. We plundered none of the French but those who carried guns, powder and ball to the Miamis and Illinois, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stave all the barrels of rum brought to our place, lest the Drunken Indians should knock them on the head. . . We carried the English into our lakes, to trade there with the Ottawas and Hurons, as the Adirondacks brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free — we neither depend upon the Governor of Canada nor the Governor of New York. . . We go where we please and carry with us whom we please and buy and sell what we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such, and command *them* to receive no other but your people."

In 1687, France invaded Seneca country, trying to get into the Longhouse through the Western Door. They succeeded in destroying a Seneca village. The British not only failed to abide by their treaty and come to the assistance of the Seneca, but they used the incident to try to convince the Hotinonssonni they would not be safe until they were under the British flag. There were more French raids in 1690 and 1696, and by 1700, the People of the Longhouse were convinced that they could not depend upon British aid.

In 1701, a truce of sorts was enacted by which the French opened trade to Detroit, and agreed not to invade the territory of the Five Nations, and the British agreed to assist in protecting the Five Nations hunting grounds north and west of Lake Erie.

But it would be incorrect to conclude that the British were allies to the Hotinonssonni or any other North American nation — when native peoples needed British help against the French, it wasn't there, and when England and France were at war, usually on some global level, both sides used whichever North American nation they could to their best advantage. During these European wars, the Five Nations generally remained neutral.

In 1704, the first Anglican missionaries were sent in by England to the Mohawks living along the Mohawk River. In 1710, a delegation of Mohawk chiefs got an all-expense-paid trip to England, and returned bearing only four bibles, a prayer book and a communion plate for the Anglican chapel, gifts of Queen Anne. The missionaries brought behind them a long, long tail — to house the missionaries there has to be a mission, and to protect the mission we need a fort, and to propagate the faith, we need a school. The Empire was fast intruding into Mohawk country — and there was more to come.

The warlike European kingdoms were always fighting among themselves. There were three wars during the 18th Century between France and England: Queen Anne's War lasted from 1701 to 1713, then King George's War went from 1744 to 1748, and the "French and Indian War" — which most of the European world calls the "War of the Spanish Succession" — lasted from 1754 to 1763. It is clear from records of the period that the People of the Longhouse remained neutral during these wars, although individuals on the road to assimilation, such as the Anglicized Mohawks along the Mohawk River, could be depended upon to aid their colonizers.

If the French were unsuccessful in their military penetration of the territory of the Longhouse, the English were far more successful in their social and religious colonization of the Eastern part of the Confederacy. William Johnson was an Irish immigrant who became famous for his influence over certain Mohawks. As an agent of the British Crown, he maintained an embassy as an operational base handy to Mohawk country. He took as concubines several native women, among whom was Mary Brant. He had several children by her, which he never

recognized as his heirs. His position was known as "British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department", and is widely credited by European historians as having great influence over developments on the frontier during his tenure. In today's context, Johnson would be working as an ambassador in a Third World nation, executing simultaneously diplomatic, intelligence, foreign aid, and military operations.

During his tenure, he established a beachhead for immigrants to move in to establish the colony. Mohawk lands along the Susquehanna and Mohawk Rivers were increasingly encroached upon by British settlers, including Johnson himself. By 1765, the carefully-managed Longhouse environment was in trouble as ignorant and insensitive settlers almost wiped out the deer herds by 1765.

There was so much trouble with the settlers the Mohawks had so generously allowed to move in to share their lands, that by the spring of 1735, the Mohawks were actually considering abandoning their Mohawk Valley lands and moving westward in with the Oneidas to gain some peace. As a matter of fact, many Mohawks had already been displaced, and were living as refugees with other peoples.



William Johnson was a master public relations front-office man for the King, and he would on the one hand apologize for the bad behavior of the frontiersmen and urge the Mohawks to be patient and understanding, and on the other hand, he was encouraging more and more settlers to move in to take Mohawk lands. He would make a show of protecting Mohawk interests, and in that way, encouraging the People of the Longhouse to seek a resolution at the bargaining table, where they always ended up trading land away to gain a temporary peace.

Johnson's concubine, Mary Brant, had a younger brother, Joseph. He was educated at the Anglican mission, and was sent away to Eleazar Wheelock's School for Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut. In the history books which Europeans use to gain their perspective of the world, Joseph Brant is one of the good guys, presented as the great Mohawk warrior and patriot. As a matter of record, he was British educated, had British tastes, was loyal to the British Crown, and acted as a British informer-provocateur.

Joseph Brant was never a Mohawk leader. He was never appointed to any office by the Mohawk People, nor did he in any way serve Mohawk interests. As a paid and professionally-trained agent, he was a captain in the British Army. Following William Johnson's death in 1774, and throughout the Revolutionary War, Brant was used as a propaganda tool by the British to indicate that the Mohawk Nation was united against the colonists. So successful was this effort to maintain a Mohawk image for Brant that still today, U.S. historians regard Brant as a Mohawk patriot.

The British, who appointed him as a "recognized leader", may regard Brant as a hero, but to the People of the Longhouse, in the land of the Hotinonssonni, Brant was a foreign agent who became a traitor.

Brant's notorious career went into full swing at the approach of the Revolutionary War. Both the loyal British and the British colonists appealed to the People of the Longhouse for assistance in the event of trouble. The Hotinonssonni, by official legislative action, replied they intended to remain neutral. After all, why support the British, who had so regularly proved to be useless whenever the Hotinonssonni needed them, and whose promises were so often empty. The British colonists, on the other hand, clearly were hostile to the native peoples, and made it clear

that they wanted to expand their lands across the Appalachian Mountains into the territory of North American nations. The people the native nations met most frequently were frontiersmen who proved to be a violent and untrustworthy lot.

And for both colonist and loyalist, neutrality wasn't a bad bargain — at least that meant they wouldn't be fighting against the Hotinonssonni.

However, the British needed the Hotinonssonni aid desperately. If they couldn't get the nations of the League to declare war, they tried to recruit individuals to join their armed forces. To put on the pressure, the British threatened to dispossess the Mohawks along the St. Lawrence River at Akwesasne, Caughnawaga and Oka if they refused to join the British war effort.

To maintain certain myths, both British and U.S. historians have made a considerable effort to establish that the Mohawks along the St. Lawrence were not a part of the Confederacy, since they were composed solely of individuals who had severed their relations with their nations in the 17th Century to take up a new life with the French. There is no proof to support the theory — indeed, all the evidence indicates that the Mohawks along the

St. Lawrence have never ceased to be active members in the affairs of the League.

The Mohawks along the St. Lawrence told the British diplomats who wanted their allegiance that they weren't much interested. But, they agreed, in the event the colonists tried to extend their frontiers by trying to invade Canada, the Mohawks would join the British in repelling the invasion.

That obscure fact of history turned out to be a critical element in the survival and ultimate emergence of Canada as a nation. In 1775, the British military position in Canada was almost hopeless. In all Canada, there were only 700 British regulars. Most of the Canadian population was either neutral or actually favored the colonists, and any successful invasion of the territory by the colonists would almost certainly have caused Canada to become the 16th colony of the United States of America.



On September 6, 1775, a thousand soldiers from the Revolutionary Army began an invasion of Canada from Lake Champlain towards Montreal. Ft. St. John's was garrisoned by about a hundred British soldiers and a hundred native men forming an anti-invasion force. Upon the approach of a force of Revolutionary soldiers, the British commander of the fort sent about 90 Mohawks out to stave them off. In the battle that followed, the advance of the colonists was halted. The colonial officers then received intelligence reports that the Canadian defenses were too solid for them to tackle, and that the Canadian people were united strongly with the British — both statements were wholly false. But based on the reports and their experience, the Revolutionary soldiers withdrew, leaving Canada in the hands of the British for the time being.



The Mohawks, meanwhile, woke up to the fact that they had been sent out to do battle while the British soldiers remained safely in the fort, and they decided they did not want to be sacrificial lambs for British interests. Having spoken their minds to that effect, the Mohawks packed their gear and went home, and from there maintained their position of neutrality throughout the war.

The British policy, however, was intended to involve the Hotinonssonni into the war. To accomplish this goal, they resorted to bribery, trickery, false propaganda and emotional appeal. In the end, however, they could not force the League to declare war. During the siege of Fort Stanwix and at the Battle of Oriskany, Brant actually betrayed a Hotinonssonni peace delegation. He was fighting with mercenaries recruited from among his relatives on the Johnson plantation, and as Mary Jemison recalls it in her biography: "Previous to the battle at Fort Stanwix, the British sent for the Indians to come and see them whip the rebels, and at the same time stated that they did not wish to have them fight, but wanted to have them just sit down, smoke their pipes, and look on. Our Indians went to a man, but contrary to expectations, instead of smoking and looking on, they were obliged to fight for their lives."

The League continued its position of neutrality throughout the war, although both the colonists and the loyalists entered the Hotinonssonni territory in search of mercenaries. The loyalist strategy was the more successful, for they were able to draw the warriors of the League into a battle with the Revolutionary Army.

The retaliation of George Washington and his men would come in the form of the Clinton-Sullivan Campaign against the Senecas in 1779. While it was the intention of Washington and Sullivan to commit genocide on the Hotinonssonni, and "to wipe them from the face of the earth", they utterly failed in their mission. Sullivan's laying waste and burning villages and crops was not a crippling blow, but served only to end the neutrality of some of the Seneca villages. The spring following the raid, the Senecas fell on the colonial frontier with stunning force. In fact, the Senecas were so successful on the battlefield that they were surprised to find that the British had surrendered.

The Treaty of Ghent, which ended the Revolutionary War, made no provision for the North American nations which Britain had claimed to have within British sovereignty. They were left to fend for themselves, and to sign whatever kind of peace agreement they wished. Thus the representatives of the People of the Longhouse held an international treaty meeting with the new federation of the United States of America. The U.S. demanded huge cessions of territory, especially from the Senecas, and the warriors who were the delegates to the conference eventually signed the treaty. However, they had not been authorized to commit the Hotinonssonni without consulting them. For some time, the terms of the treaty were not known as the U.S. would not provide the Hotinonssonni with a written copy of the document. As many native

(continued on next page)



nations know to their regrets, signing a treaty and ratifying a treaty are two different propositions, each necessary to having a treaty become valid. Although the U.S. Congress did ratify for the U.S., when the legislative council of the League met at Buffalo Creek, they renounced the agreement.

In 1784, General Haldimand was able to persuade Britain to set aside a tract of land along the Grand River to turn over to peoples who had become refugees in the war, or whose loyalties to the English now made it impossible to live on the U.S. side of the border. They had joined the flood of loyalists who also had to pack up and head for Canada. Some who settled there in Grand River Country were Mohawks, others Cayugas, as well as other nations who had been in the League of the Great Peace, such as the Delawares, Tuteloës, Nanticokes and Cherokees. The Haldimand Deed reads in part, "I do hereby, in His Majesty's name, authorize and permit the said Mohawk Nation and such other of the Six Nations as wish ... to take possession ... which they and their posterity are to enjoy forever."

Somehow, the United States of America takes the position that the League ceased to exist by the year 1784 — but the League has continued on. There is ample evidence that all of the nations continued to participate in the matters of the League following the war, and that none of the nations has declared themselves separate from the League. The Oneidas, whose warriors had largely fought on the U.S. side, if at all, continued to send their leaders to council, and the Tuscaroras remained firmly attached to the League. The Onondagas and Senecas and Cayugas and Mohawks did the same. Although the League has been severely disrupted as the Western Expansion of the U.S. moved across its lands and then surrounded and attempted to devour its people, it has, in fact, continued to function. Indeed, today its strength continues to be on the increase.

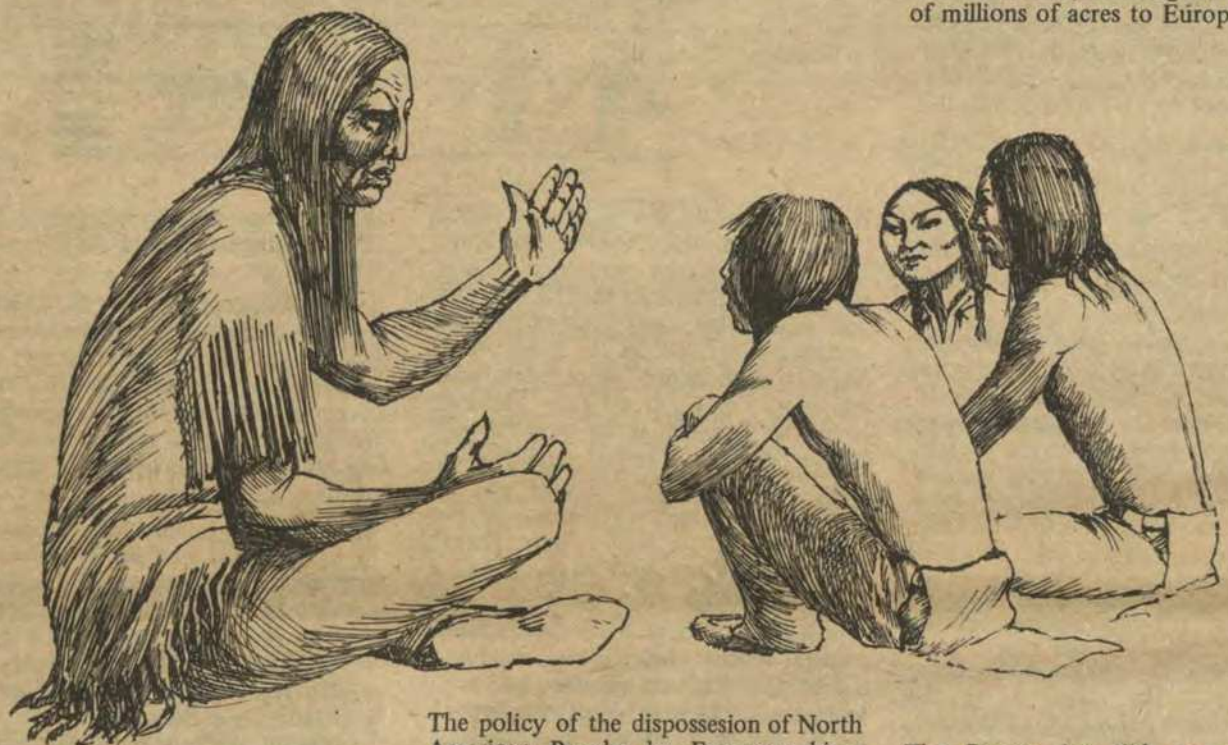
This is an important point. The title to the homeland of the Mohawks has never been ceded by the Mohawk Nation to the United States of America. The leaders of the Mohawk People, seated according to the Constitution of the League, did not sign the Fort Stanwix Treaty, nor any treaty. The initial U.S. "Indian Policy" was to ignore the legitimacy of the League because the League was sure to refuse to ratify land cession treaties. Later, when New York State needed to legitimate its title to the Mohawk lands north of the Mohawk River, they had two British agents sign on the dotted line, and then claimed that the pair were acting in the name of the Mohawk Nation, although New York knew this to be a fraud.

Ever since, it has been the policy of New York State to erode the sovereignty of nations of the League through any means, fair or foul. When legitimate means fail, the state has consistently resorted to illegitimate ones. It had a fondness for buying lands from people who were not legitimate owners.

The events on Mohawk Nation lands in the 1790s are illustrative of this process. In those years, the people of Akwesasne were beset with misfortune. Many of the Loyalists were moving in on their

lands on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, and claimed that British officials had the right to do so. On the south shore, surveyors were staking out lands, saying that the State of New York, flat broke after its war expenses, had sold off all of the northern lands to try to raise some cash. In addition, the effects of strange new diseases had taken a heavy toll. The Mohawks at Akwesasne were told that since the British had lost the Revolutionary War, there would now be a border — some of the white people would be on one side, and some on the other side, and that the border would run smack in the middle of the Mohawk lands at Akwesasne.

Thus, simply by pretending that the Mohawk Nation didn't exist, both the U.S. and Britain claimed Mohawk territory simply by saying that it belonged to them. To this day, Canada has never made a treaty for its lands in the St. Lawrence River Valley. But the truth continues to remain and plague officials yet today — the Mohawk Nation is not and never has been part of either the U.S. or Canada, the citizens of the Mohawk Nation are a separate people, distinct from either Canada or the U.S. And because of this, the Mohawk Nation cannot recognize a border drawn by foreign peoples to divide the Mohawk Nation into separate parts.



Although Canada has managed to get away with its theft to this day, New York State wasn't quite so lucky — although at first glance, it might appear to have done well. When the surveyors first appeared, the Mohawks got up a delegation of three persons to go to Albany to see what was going on. They selected three persons they thought could get favorable disposition of their complaint: one, a Tarbell, was the descendant of a Britisher captured in a 17th Century raid on Groton, Massachusetts; another, Louis Cook, had been a colonel in George Washington's army; and the third, William Gray, was a stray Revolutionary soldier who had been left behind when the army passed through, and decided to stay to live with the Mohawks.

Once in Albany, the trio met with surprised officials who said they really hadn't expected Mohawks would show up to claim ownership. Sorry, they said, the land had been sold to a Detroit fur trader, Alexander Macomb. However, to keep the peace on the St. Lawrence, the officials offered a take-it-or-leave-it deal: if the delegation would agree to sign off all further claims on lands in New York State, the state would give them, in return, six miles square of their own land.

The problem for the State was whose name would go on the document: to show that the treaty was with the Mohawk Nation would open a mess of worms, and thus it decided to have the delegation sign off the lands in the name of the "Seven Nations of Canada", an informal alliance organized by French missionaries of seven Canadian missions, an alliance which had been pretty well defunct since the French were defeated in 1763.

Although the people, chiefs, and clan mothers had not agreed to the signing off of all Mohawk lands to New York State, the State accepted the signatures of the three as ample proof of sale, had the transaction witnessed by a U.S. Commissioner, ratified by Congress, and signed by the President of the United States. Not only did this cause the state to consider that it now owned the land, but it eventually led to the establishment of the elective system at Akwesasne, composed of three elective "chiefs" following the mandates of New York State law.

Thus, although the Mohawk Nation had never altered its form of government, had never authorized the sale of land, had never signed and ratified a treaty, New York State uses the transaction today to "prove" ownership.

The Mohawks who moved to the Grand River Country fared little better. The so-called Haldimand Deed covered some 600,000 acres. Joseph Brant negotiated rigorously and finally succeeded in obtaining from the Government of Canada the right to lease the Grand River lands to British Loyalists. In this way, most of the land at Grand River was turned over to British owners, and only a tiny amount is left today. Joseph Brant always looked after his people — the British.

century later, the Removal Policy was abandoned, due in part to the bad press received during the Cherokee Removal of 1832, when thousands of Cherokee women, children, and elders were subjected to conditions which caused them to die of exposure, starvation, and neglect.



In 1871, the U.S. Congress passed an Act which included a clause that treaties would no longer be made with "Indian Nations". It was at this time that U.S. policy toward native peoples began to shift to a new official strategy — reports to Congress began urging that native people be assimilated into U.S. society as quickly as possible. The principle hindrance to this occurrence, so the tale went, was the Indian land base, held in common, which was definitely an un-American thing to do. Now if each Indian family just had its own little farmstead, they would be like red white people, and the extra land — well, the extra land could be given to worthy settlers. Thus the Dawes Act of 1886 ordered the native nations stripped of their land base, resulting in the transfer of millions of acres to European hands.

The policy of the dispossession of North American Peoples by European kingdoms began with the first contact. Dispossession took a number of routes: there were the so-called "just wars" by which native people were deemed to have offended the King, and were eliminated by fire and sword. That was followed by the treaty period in which native nations were "induced" to sell their lands and move westward. The treaty period in the U.S. was in full swing at the beginning of the 19th Century, and by 1815, the Governor of New York was agitating for the removal of all native people from the state "for their own good".

When the infamous Trail of Tears was moving Peoples from the Southeast to Oklahoma, New York State had lobbied for the Treaty of 1838, which was intended to remove the Hotinonsanni who were still on lands the state wanted away off to an area of Kansas. The principle victims were the Senecas. The representatives of the Ogden Land Company, unable to obtain the signatures of the legitimate officials of the Seneca Nation, resorted to bribery, intimidation, and outright forgery. So fragrant were the frauds committed against the Senecas that the Society of Friends in Philadelphia mounted a publicity campaign on their behalf, which was influential in moving the U.S. Senate to renegotiate the terms of the treaty.

This resulted in the Compromise Treaty of 1842, which resulted in the reduction of Seneca lands, the forfeiture of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, and ultimately, a large portion of the Tonawanda lands. Many Oneidas and some Mohawks were shuffled away to Green Bay, Wisconsin. Most Mohawks at Akwesasne simply refused to move, and no one was willing to move them at that time. Like the termination policy a

The Dawes Act did not affect the Mohawks directly, but the general policy certainly did. There was a consistent pressure in the New York legislature to "civilize" the Indians, and to accomplish this, all vestiges of Mohawk nationality needed to be destroyed. This was the 19th Century origin of the policy to "educate" the Indian to be culturally European.



When the Indian attained that high status, it was thought, when he was successfully Europeanized, he would no longer be distinct and separate, and there would no longer be an indigenous people with their own customs. At that point, so the logic went, the Indian could then be simply declared to be a part of U.S. society. The net effect would dispense with the entire concept of North American nations, and, of course, that would extinguish the claim of those nations for their lands. The Report of the Whipple Committee to the New York Legislature in 1888 was clear: "Exterminate the tribe."

From 1886 to the present day, the Canadian Government has tried to deny the existence of the Mohawk Government, and has fostered a system of European-style governments which Ottawa controls. In 1924, the Canadian Government "abolished" the Hotinonsonni Government at Grand River and at Oneida, and invaded and occupied the country with Canadian troops to establish an "elective system" in the name of democracy. Also, in 1924, the U.S. Government passed a law declaring all American Indians to be U.S. citizens. The Hotinonsonni vigorously objected, and maintains to this day that People of the Longhouse are not citizens of either the U.S. or Canada, but are citizens of their own nations of the League.

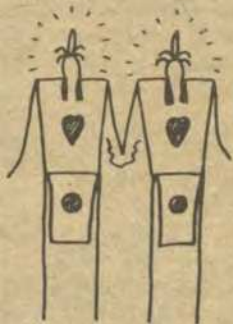
The U.S. was preparing the stage for "assimilation" which was to take the form of the Termination Acts. In so doing, in 1946, Congress authorized an Indian Claims Commission designed to settle, once and for all, the claims of fraud and injustice in land dealings so these problems would not hinder assimilation. [The story of the Claims Commission, and its attempts to pay off grievances with money instead of justice, and to attempt to create legal fictions that claims have been "settled", is deserving of a separate article.] Shortly thereafter, Congress passed Public Law 232 and 233, which purported to give civil and criminal jurisdictions over the nations of the League to New York State — laws which were to be followed by the infamous PL280 covering much of Indian Country elsewhere in the U.S. The European design of total dispossession and destruction of the North American nations continues on course.

To that end, schools were established on reservations with the expressed purpose of Europeanization of the Indian. That policy was followed on the Mohawk territories. The Mohawk children were taught to sing God Save The King on the Canadian side and instructed by French and British teachers, while on the U.S. side, Yankee Doodle and the Star Spangled Banner became the thing — but both sides were taught that Mohawks were an inferior people whose history should be "water under the bridge." Schools demanded — often with brutal force — the use of the English language and abstinence from children speaking their own language. Christian missions, which had long been established, gradually phased out the Mohawk culture.

At Akwesasne, the elective system "chiefs" were strongly resented because they continued to act in ways subservient to New York State, just as the "elected council" on the Canadian side was subservient to Ottawa and continued the separation of Mohawk peoples living on the same land. In 1948, a referendum was held at Akwesasne at which an overwhelming majority voted into office a party which had promised to end the elective system of government, and to reinstate the power of the legitimate officials of the Mohawk Nation. Upon taking office, the new council advised Albany that it was following the mandate of the people, that it was dissolving itself, and that thereafter, if the state had business to do, it should come to the Longhouse to meet with the Mohawk Nation. For two years, New York State pretended nothing had happened, and then in 1950, under heavy State Police guard, New York held an election outside the boundaries it recognizes as being Mohawk land, and a few persons loyal to New York State gathered to elect themselves to office — and were promptly recognized by Albany as "the true representatives of the people". Things haven't changed much since 1796.

The Termination Acts of the 1950s were so utterly disastrous to the native peoples who were terminated that they caused something of a national scandal. "St. Regis", the European name for Akwesasne, was one of the territories targeted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as "ready for integration". The BIA based its recommendation on the fact

that many Mohawks had acquired at least some of the material conditions which made their community outwardly indistinguishable from the white communities in the area. In actual fact, Akwesasne was and is very different from the many small towns surrounding it.



Termination submerged as an official policy of the U.S. Government in the late 1960s. But termination was just a means to an end — the exploitation of a people and their lands. Tools to accomplish that included guns, diseases, revised histories, repressive missionaries, indoctrinating teachers, all wrapped prettily in codes of law.

Things were proceeding along much the same course in Canada. In 1924, the Government of Canada had entered a meeting of the Legislature of the League on the Grand River, and staged a coup, proclaiming a new set of officials which it had selected as the "democratically elected leaders". Resistance to this clear violation of sovereignty and human rights smouldered for years until in

new organization, the Mohawk Rights Association, funding it via government contracts until its officials became strong and visible, and in a position to become the new Indian Act council.

By 1974, there were some 1200 non-Mohawks living at Caughnawaga, legitimated by Ottawa's council. The now familiar pattern of European strategy continued on its course — remember William Johnson! The Canadian government's plan was to encourage the "development" of Caughnawaga lands by commercial interests, and at the same time convert its council to a Quebec municipal council. Thus the first Mohawk Rights Association official in the elected council, Andrew Delisle, declared himself "mayor" — at least other councils kept the title of "chief".

The Canadian plan of municipalization did not mean that the Canadian Government was simply recognizing that the Mohawks had been acculturated, and thus should be given the privileges and status of peoples around them — it meant that with the exception of a hang-around-the-fort elite, the Mohawks would be displaced and forced into urban ghettos which now house the dispossessed native peoples from all over North America.

The Mohawk Nation has, during a period of 375 years, met every definition of an oppressed nation. It has been subjected to raids of extermination from France, England, and the United States. Its people have been driven from their lands, impoverished, and persecuted in their homeland for their Mohawk customs. It has been the victim



— it is being deliberately strangled to death by those who would benefit from its death.

Although treaties may often have been bad deals for the native nations, the U.S. and Canada will not honor them today. The reason is that the treaties did give the potential for survival of the nations of North America. The dishonoring of treaties is essential to achieve the goal of U.S. and Canadian vested interests to remove any and all obstacles to their exploitation of the earth and her peoples.

The Europeans continue to wage war against the Mohawk Nation and the League of the People of the Longhouse. But the weapons have changed somewhat — Indian Education programs and social workers, "elected officials" and racist laws are used first, instead of



1959, a traditionalist party led by Emily General, a niece of the Cayuga patriot, Deskaheh, actually deposed the Council of Twelve the Canadians had appointed, and boarded up the council house.

Canada responded by sending Federal police who incited a riot, following which the puppet government was reinstated and maintained by force. This series of events resulted in a series of court battles to determine whether the Six Nations or Canada was the rightful government of the Grand River Territory. Canada refused to have the dispute placed before a world tribunal, such as the United Nations, or the World Court. The Supreme Court of Canada is even now considering a case involving the sovereignty of Grand River Country.

Events at the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga follow much the same pattern. In the 1960s, Canadian officials became impatient with the incompetence of its "elected officials" at Caughnawaga, which although it was on the outskirts of metropolitan Montreal, had not moved very much to integrating itself into the official "Canadian mosaic". Thus Canada had to engineer a coup on its own puppet government, which it did by aiding the creation of a

of policies of fraudulent dealings of three European governments which have openly expressed the goal of extermination of the Mohawk Nation. Its children have been taught to despise their ancestors, their culture, their language, their religion — although recently it has been the in-thing to teach

Mohawk children to "be proud you're an Indian", and to give Mohawk children the ability to say hello, goodbye, and thank you in the Mohawk language.

Revisionist U.S. and British historians have cloaked the past in a veil of lies. The national and local governments of the Mohawk Nation have been suppressed and usurped by colonial authorities which carried out policies of repression in the name of "law-abiding Mohawks". And generation after generation has seen the Mohawk Nation territory shrink under the expansionist policies of the U.S., Britain, and Canada.

The world is told by the government propaganda machines that the Mohawks are simply "victims of civilization and progress". The truth is that they are the victims of a conscious and persistent effort directed at them by European governments and their heirs in North America.

The Mohawk Nation is not suffering from a terminal illness of natural cause

guns. If those methods fail, the guns are still ready, as recent history at Akwesasne and South Dakota have shown.

Genocide is alive and well in North America. Its technicians are in Washington, Ottawa, and Albany. It is a genocide practiced against this hemisphere's native people.



The oppression of the Mohawk Nation has taken its toll — but the Mohawk Nation continues today to meet in council, and its numbers are on the rise.

The Kanienkehake, the People of the Flint Stone, given Life and all things necessary for survival by the Creator, still have a long history ahead.

(more Mohawk Nation news next page)



On May 13, 1974, a large contingent of Mohawk People, with some friends and allies from the Hotinonsonni and other North American nations, began an occupation of a small piece of land in the central Adirondack Mountains, land which New York States claims it owns.

The action was quite different from other North American occupations of recent years. This time, the primary purpose of the native group was not to stage some kind of protest, or to call attention to the oft-vaunted "plight of the Indian". From the beginning, the occupied site, called Ganieneh — the Mohawk word for the country of the Mohawks, meaning Land of the Flint Stone — was intended as a move to regain Mohawk homeland, to settle it, and to stay there to re-establish the way of life of the nation.

The move to establish the settlement was not an act of rebellion or revolution, but as part of a struggle for liberation. It was not so much an attempt to create something new, but rather was an effort to strengthen something eternal — the Mohawk Nation.

"Ganieneh to us is an area of land that has always belonged to our People for many generations before Europeans came here. It's an area where Indian people are free to practice their own form of government and follow their own spiritual ceremonies. It is a place where we can live in harmony and closeness to the Earth. It is a place where Indian people can be the type of people that were put here by the Creator," a statement from the settlement said.

"Ganieneh is many different things to most of the Indian People who are living here now. Basically, it is a place where we can live our own way of life and not be dominated by a culture or society that is non-Indian. It is a place where we're free to follow our own destiny as we see it and in the Way of Life we've been given."

But Ganieneh is not a sort of Indian Utopia. In real ways, it is a practical attempt at survival by a people, some of whom only a few months prior to the move had been in armed conflict with provincial police in Quebec over issues relative to encroachments on their lands there. And of course, many of the people from other places had seen similar encroachments on their lands for a number of years.

Realistically, the People of the Mohawk Nation had few choices left. On the reservation, colonial governments, which were composed of people who were of Mohawk heritage if not culturally Mohawk, were as oppressive to the Longhouse People, those who follow the Natural Ways, as the colonial governments of the U.S. in places such as Vietnam.

Ganieneh is more accurately a settlement than an occupation, a settlement on repossessed lands. Since the beginning, there have been any number of crises, including threats of annihilation by the State, FBI COINTELPRO-type actions, court hearings and shooting incidents. But through it all, since 1974, Ganieneh has survived, and the experiences have made the community stronger. It is doubtful that there is a single conscious community anywhere in North America which has undergone such pressures as Ganieneh, and which has survived.

Most United States and Canadian people have difficulty in coming to an understanding of why the establishment of Ganieneh should be supported by them. Others even oppose Ganieneh, feeling that while the past may have been unjust to the Mohawk Nation, the past is past, and they are not responsible for their father's sins. But there are important reasons why Ganieneh deserves support, and it is important that people understand that the reasons Ganieneh was established did not arise out of the past, but come from contemporary situations. The oppressions of the 18th Century are gone by — but the contemporary oppressions are alive and well in the 1970s.

Oppression occurs when a people are subjected to a process which prevents or limits their access to the means of survival. We can understand physical genocide as the most direct form of oppression, and that was, of

course, one of the early European policies toward the Mohawk and other nations.

When people have tried to do something to change those conditions, to take control of their own lives — whether by strengthening their culture or seeking to maintain their land base — they come into immediate and often armed conflict with the institutions which carry out the oppression. One of these institutions is the police, and another is the "elective councils" which are the creations of colonial governments, and the school systems which socialize children to values which give legitimacy to the forms of oppression.

Ganieneh is not simply a reaction to oppression, however. The people who came there did so with a strong determination to create conditions favorable to the rebirth at all levels of the Mohawk Way of Life. The effort is not one of "escape" — it is a project designed to regenerate, and as such, is quite different from utopian communities of people reacting to their own culture.

Because of their experience with centuries of the most direct kind of oppression, the Mohawks of Ganieneh have adopted a strategy designed to move the community towards self-sufficiency. The struggle toward this goal has been one of the major programs of the community. The people recognized they could not undo centuries of change overnight simply through an effort of will. So step by step, they have been preparing themselves, first through a process which leads to self-reliance, to be self-sufficient.

The people of Ganieneh are members of a nation. They are a people separate and distinct from the U.S. citizens around them. They have separate customs, a separate economy, language, and way of being in the world. This has essentially meant that instead of searching for alternatives within Western culture, Ganieneh has adopted policies of seeking solutions within the ancient Mohawk culture. Thus the community does not look to European alternatives, but rather to Mohawk ways. For example, in the area of medicine, people look to natural medicines of herbs and spiritual ways, rather than surgery. They prefer natural childbirth, utilizing the Mohawk knowledge of midwifery.

The regeneration of the Mohawk economy — the way in which a people distribute material goods and services — and the effort to create a form of production adaptable to that economy is of major concern. In some ways, it has been an area which could be expected to cause quite a bit of stress within the community.

The Hotinonsonni can be envisioned as composed of two large communities: a community of Men, and a community of Women, living cooperatively. Throughout history, Western institutions attacked the community of Women more vigorously. Men were socialized even in Western schools to expect to work together on the "job". Girls and young women were socialized to roles as homemakers, each with her own separate and distinct home. There is little emphasis in working together in a sisterhood in European society. But the development of a conscious Mohawk community meant that women were immediately put into productive roles which required a cooperative effort quite different from that which most women have experienced. In the beginning, many had problems making the necessary adjustments.

The men, of course, faced a slightly different set of problems. They had been socialized in varying degrees to work together as "work crews", but in a hierarchical structure, with pay as an incentive, from 8 to 5 Monday to Friday. The work in a natural economy is entirely unfamiliar to people who have no experience there, and the men, too, had much to learn. Since Ganieneh was not just a conscious community, but one which was threatened from the beginning with extermination by repressive forces, the men carried the additional burden of providing security, meaning long hours at a dangerous occupation.

But guns are not the only tools which are used to exterminate a people, and there is more than one way for a people to die than death. A People need many things in order to survive, and when a People live under conditions in which those things are denied them, it follows that they will not survive too well, if at all. To oppress means to limit the potential for survival, whether directly or indirectly.

The history of the nations of North America is one of constant oppression since 1492. The People were subjected to genocidal wars, and many nations disappeared in that way. The animals were ruthlessly destroyed, and the food and clothing materials the People needed to survive were no longer available. Land, water, fish, all the things which the native peoples had relied upon for survival were no longer accessible to them. In addition to these things, the cultures of the Peoples were attacked, and continue to be attacked, through a process known as racism.

People are not a people without a culture. To deny a people access to their culture, of course, means to deny them access to a necessity for their survival.

Many of the Mohawk People, in recent years, became alarmed at the ways this process affected their children's lives. When a people are oppressed and separated from their culture and the material necessities for their survival, they begin to act in ways which are contradictory to their needs for survival.

A culture is more than clothing or doing a dance, or how to construct an ancient form of shelter. Culture involves the way in which a people remain a people, how they celebrate life, their language, their ways of seeing the world, of settling disputes, the forms of their families and communities, and their values for raising children. Cultural values teach us the kind of life we want to create for our children, and create in us the discipline and wisdom we need to act to create that kind of life.

The natural cultures stress people's responsibility to act in ways which create a good life at all times for the smallest children, even the yet unborn. The natural way of life as an instruction is more than the ideology of this — it instructs in the step-by-step practical everyday ways in which this is accomplished.

The Natural Ways are subjected to the greatest oppressions today. The manifestations and effects of that oppression are many and varied. Quite often, the effects of oppression are not associated with the actual processes which have caused those effects to appear. For example, the reservations have high rates of alcoholism, and in recent years a great increase in drug use among adolescents. Families have become unstable, people often no longer take a real responsibility for their children. These factors have been accompanied by a rising number of fatal automobile accidents and suicides. But all of these are not simple occurrences which result from the frailties of human nature, or "living in two worlds" or "resisting progress". They occur because as people have been forcibly separated from the Sacred Ways of being in the Creation, they no longer can resist the destructive ways through which they are victimized.

Ganieneh is an effort to re-establish the real Mohawk culture by making available to people the means of survival. The movement has essentially two objectives: to secure enough land to once again make possible the practice of the Mohawk material culture by a community of people, and to maintain enough autonomy to enable people to continue the Mohawk social culture without interference.

People who are distant from the realities of oppression, or who are too mystified by it to understand it, tend to ask Ganieneh people such things as "if things are so bad on the reservations, why not work to change things there?" But when people experience having their brothers and sisters, their children and parents, become the victims of assaults, alcohol, drugs and racism, they can understand Ganieneh.

The people of Ganieneh have experienced changes, both individually and as a community. Some of the changes were painful. There were cases in which people were unable to adjust to the social or physical realities. Some people were not ready to assume the work load; others simply were not persistent enough to weather the birth pains of a community.

Ganieneh has not been a place to escape to — it has been a place to build from. And people who would go there need to understand that a self-sufficient community is one in which people are productive in the real sense, i.e., hardworking on useful tasks. Ganieneh continues to need people — stable responsible people whose motivations include a strong determination to work together with others to make a good life for their children and the future.

The people at Ganieneh established the community knowing it would be hard work, that there would be difficulties, that it would require struggle. But they were motivated by a high degree of consciousness of the meaning of responsibility. They put aside their own desires for comfort and the "easy way" and directed their lives toward the best interests of the children and their children's children. They continue to need people who can understand the nature of struggle as requiring sacrifices and compromise. Ganieneh is a place where that goes on every day.

Ganieneh has survived, and continues to grow. It is unique among North America's conscious communities, for it is a real effort at practice against oppression by a people who have long been the oppressed. It is a community which deserves the support of native and non-native peoples alike, for it represents a true expression of the human determination to seek freedom, and a search for the Real Ways of Life by a group of human beings on the land the Creator gave to them for that purpose.

— Sotsisowah

The struggle at Ganieneh has only begun. New York State continues to refuse to recognize the land claims of the Mohawk Nation. There is constant harassment and persecution by a variety of forces, mostly from small factions in surrounding communities, but who have created a dangerous atmosphere of potential violence. Ganieneh needs political and economic support, especially in the forms of contributions and letters of support to the Governor of New York State, Albany, N.Y.

The address for Ganieneh is:

*Ganieneh
via Eagle Bay, New York
telephone (315) 357-9721*

CONTACTS

Jimmie Osborne's book of poems and short stories written by himself and other prisoners in North America, including native peoples, is available from Black Foxx Publishers, c/o Harlo Press, 16721 Hamilton Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48203. Jimmie's new address is: B-65577 Ctf-C, Unit (E) Cell 115, POBox 686, Soledad, California 93960.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of James Ben, formerly of POBox 172, Antler, Oklahoma please contact AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. Or call (518) 483-2540 collect.

Operation Eagle is a "broad group of ideas to encourage interested native people to learn to become their own lawyers in obtaining justice", and then making demands through the legal system for "every grievance the native American has or ever had." Contact: John A. Casper, 120 Passaic St., New Providence, N.J. 07974 or call (201) 665-1464.

Health Education specialist is needed for a native health organization in bush Alaska. Duties include design of preventive programs and development of community organizations to carry out projects. Contact: Alvin Ivanoff, Executive Director, Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation, POBox 528, Bethel, Alaska 99559 or phone (907) 543-2506.

James Romero, possibly somewhere in the U.S. prison system, has a letter from a friend to be forwarded to him. Please advise us of his current location.

Interested in veterinary medicine as a career? The University of Minnesota is recruiting native people for that field and has published a "Native American Directory of Veterinary Medicine Education Programs." For information, contact: Wendy Andberg, College of Veterinary Medicine, U of M, 301B Vet Science Bldg., St. Paul, Minnesota 55108.

Anyone knowing of Roberta & Elizabeth Hampton, formerly of Philadelphia, are being sought by their brother, who was split off from the family and placed for adoption. Folks in Philly might do a little detective work and advise Leon Gaze, POBox 520, Walla Walla, Washington 99362.

Many Wounds: many moons since Sun Dance. Call us. John, Minnie and your nephew, Wenumpa. (518) 483-2540.

A Director for the Institute of Indian Studies is needed by the University of South Dakota to coordinate and develop Indian-related academic and non-academic programs on and off-campus. Nominations or applications should be addressed to Dr. Joseph Ca.h, Institute for Indian Studies, USD, Vermillion, South Dakota 57069.

Heart of the Earth Survival School is looking for good staff members, including an administrator, learning aides/teachers, activity aides, and a physical education instructor. For further information, contact Heart of the Earth Survival School, 1209 Fourth St. SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414 or phone (612) 331-8862.



Native people interested in becoming an attorney should know that the procedure to get through is not easy, and that perseverance and follow-through are necessary. Information about where to get help along the way is available from American Indian Law Student Association, University of Denver College of Law, 200 West 14th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80204.

William Danes Gerritson, born March 17, a Blackfoot, is asked to contact Patricia Gilson Green, 511 Simonton St., Key West, Florida 33040 or telephone (305) 294-5786.

The Indian Brothers in Menard, Illinois, have an Indian Culture Group started, the only one in Illinois prisons. They hope the other brothers in Statesville and Pontiac will transfer on over to Menard so the group will become larger.

Doctoral fellowships in Social Work are available to minority students interested in "indigenous research in social work". Graduate students should contact Council on Social Work Education, Minority Fellowship Program, 345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017 or call Sam Miller at (212) 697-0467.

Daniel Joe Mohawk is sought by Tasey, POBox 8166, Bylas, Arizona 85530.

A Creek-Cherokee man with a masters degree in communications and experience in teaching and counseling wishes to teach native people in the Southwest or elsewhere. Contact: Ward Churchill, Faith Route, Sturgis, South Dakota 57785 or phone (606) 347-5459.

Groups needing mailing lists to publicize their activities, particularly in "Alternative America", should contact Resources, POBox 134, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138 for information about mailing lists for sale.

Arthur L. Fielder, of 595 John Muir Drive #715, San Francisco, California 94132, wants to hear from Joann Benally, from Telenospar, Arizona. Call collect at (415) 584-3076.

Dynamic & sensitive people are needed by Frontier College to teach in outlying native communities to assist people to realize their development goals. The work is hard and just great, and the approach of Frontier College is exceptional. Outposts are established by this independent non-government group at Kinosao, Saskatchewan, Deadman's Creek, British Columbia, Igloolik, Northwest Territories, Davis Inlet Labrador, and Burnt Church, New Brunswick. Committed people should contact Marilyn Legge, Frontier College, 31 Jackes Ave., Toronto, Canada M4T 1E2. Telephone: (416) 923-3591.

A multi-cultural inter-disciplinary National Drug Abuse Conference for everybody is to be held in San Francisco next May 5-9, 1977. A native task force is a part of this group, as well as task forces for women, gays, Asians, Blacks, Chicanos, etc. so that each group can express their concerns in drug abuse treatment and prevention. For information, contact Cecelia Fortney, NDAC, c/o Haight-Ashbury Training & Education Project, 409 Clayton St., San Francisco, California 94117, or telephone (415) 626-6763.

A bill introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives [HR14901] would permit any chief of the Piscataway People to be buried in Piscataway Park at Oxon Hill, Maryland. However, Billy Tayac, a Piscataway spokesman, says that national support will be necessary if the bill is to be passed. Letters of support may be sent to Lloyd Meeds, Chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Washington, D.C.

WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE/AKWESASNE NOTES TRAVEL PLANS ANNOUNCED: HELP IN SCHEDULING REQUESTED

After several attempts to get the next trip of White Roots of Peace together, a firm itinerary has been adopted for next March, April and May. The tour will commence in Texas, move up through New Mexico to Colorado, into Colorado, either Kansas or South Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin, across through Pennsylvania to New Jersey and then into New England. The New England portion will start in Connecticut, then to Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine.

Although there are enough sponsors now to insure that the trip can take place, other sponsors are needed, especially on college campuses and with Indian groups.

The exact composition of the travelling group is not yet known, but tentative plans call for:

- a group of native dancers from Mexico who present dance as spiritual celebration and active meditation, as well as energy & consciousness-raising experiences of beauty.
- a special exhibition of textiles made by native people of Guatemala, together with a marimba of native musicians. The beautiful hand-woven materials will be available for purchase, as well as viewing. Other native crafts will be available.
- workshops of native speakers discussing spirituality, native issues and struggle, history, social change, ways of natural living.
- a sale of books, posters, and educational materials.
- a social doings of Mohawk singing and dancing in which people are invited to participate in the natural ways.



Part of the White Roots of Peace group relaxing on the Indiana University campus.

- a film festival containing up to ten hours of movies about native peoples.
- a press conference with local media persons.

The group will visit various reservations, colleges, schools and community groups for one-day meetings. This is an excellent opportunity for the focusing of energy and attention in an area on native peoples and problems.

"Splendid! The group was articulate with meaningful intellectual and social messages; it had great dignity, strength and artistic merit in its ceremonies; it won wide friendships through its willingness to interact with our students and faculty in many informal ways. In all, the group did much for the University community. Its welcome on a future occasion would be most positive."

- Demitri B. Shimkin,
Professor of Anthropology & Geography
University of Illinois @ Urbana/Champaign

Persons and groups interested in having the group visit their campus or community are invited to inquire for more details. Local sponsors are asked to arrange publicity, locate financial support to cover costs of travel and for AKWESASNE NOTES publishing, and to provide facilities for the presentations and meetings.

For further information, about having White Roots of Peace/AKWESASNE NOTES visit your community or campus, please contact:

White Roots of Peace
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

The Churches

INVOLVEMENT IN NATIVE CAUSES: SOME CHURCHES TAKE THE CHALLENGE

Recent efforts by upper-echelon levels of Christian churches to involve themselves in concerned social activism to aid native causes are bringing approval of native organizations, dissension from church members, anger from governments and corporations, and re-examinations of church-native relations.

As one example of the new willingness of the church to follow its own Christian principles when it comes to native peoples is the Labor Day message to the 10,000,000 members of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada from the eighteen bishops on the Church's administrative board.

"What we see emerging in the Canadian North are forms of exploitation which we often assume happen only in Third World countries: a serious abuse of both native peoples and the energy resources of the North," the message said. It was distributed to parish priests across Canada.

In an interview, Bishop Remi De Roo of Victoria said the Church was not taking a stand against development, but it was insisting that native land claims be settled first and that native people have a voice in major projects.

He said that the Church could expect to be criticised as a result of its stand, and added it would be natural if some of that criticism came from the oil and gas industry.

The message acknowledged that "the church must also take a critical look at itself. We now see that, coming from another culture, the church may have contributed to disruptive changes in native culture while helping to bring Christianity to the North through the creative efforts of missionaries who have shared the hard lives of the people."

Those efforts have meant that today about 75% of northern Canada's 27,000 native people are Roman Catholics, many of them graduates of schools and hostels where native students spent ten months of their year away from their own peoples.

The 3500-word message was termed a "cry for justice". One injustice cited was that "governments and corporations have secretly planned and suddenly announced the construction of large industrial projects without prior consultation with the people who will be most directly affected." These projects are "usually finalized and implemented before land claims settlements have been reached with the native people of the region," the bishops said.

Listed as examples are the James Bay hydro development in northern Quebec, the Churchill-Nelson hydro project in northern Manitoba, the Churchill Falls hydro project in Labrador, and the hydro electric plants in northwestern B.C.

The bishops noted that as a result of this kind of development, "more and more native peoples are being compelled to give up their land-based economy and move into the urban centres where alcoholism and welfarism have become prevalent for many." The bishops said their concern came from applying Gospel standards to contemporary life.

Canadian Catholics were urged to participate in public debate and action which would lead to just solutions to the questions of native land claims and a more responsible stewardship of the Creation's gifts.

In the 1976 Labor Day message, the bishops again called for Christians to actively change social conditions, saying "the signs of the times today compel us to think about our social responsibilities and to put our words into action."

"We live in a world that oppresses at least half the human race and this scandal threatens to get worse," they said. While the 1976 message pointed to a broader range of concerns than the 1975 message, it said that all these problems were accompanied by "a growing sense of loneliness, powerlessness and alienation in our society and institutions," and that "we, the people, have the responsibility to change them."

The bishops noted that only a minority of Christians were getting involved in social causes, but said that this minority was "significant because it is challenging the whole church to live the Gospel message by serving the needs of the people."

There were six guidelines listed by which a just social order could come about. The first called for a true understanding of the Gospel message of justice, which calls for "communities of people reflecting and acting on specific injustices."

Then, it called upon Christians to modify their affluent lifestyles, to "turn away from self-seeking and material treasures."

Catholics were called upon to listen to the victims of injustices in their own communities. "Too often, people see examples of exploitation around them but remain silent," the message said.

"It is not enough to denounce social ills and talk about a new order. We are called to participate in actions to change the policies of government, corporations, and other institutions that cause human suffering," the bishops challenged.

Urging involvement in social change as well as liberal forms of assistance, the bishops said that "as Christians, we have a responsibility not simply to feed the hungry, but to increase their power to change the causes of hunger."

In self-criticism, the bishops said that the Church "has participated with others in the wealth and comfort of an industrial society which places enormous demands on energy resources at the expense of other people. We must look to the past in order that we may learn to act more responsibly in the present." They said this meant that northern dioceses have to "re-evaluate their missionary work in the light of these challenges."

Calling for "fundamental social change", the bishops said that "until we as a society begin to change our own lifestyles based on wealth and comfort, until we begin to change the profit-oriented priorities of our industrial system, we will continue placing exorbitant demands on the limited supplies of energy in the North and end up exploiting the people of the North in order to get those resources."



NO! WE DON'T HAVE 'GREAT SPIRIT' FEELS

— Everett Sloop in Kanai News

With rare insight into some of the common foundations of Christianity as compared to the spiritual beliefs of native peoples, the bishops said, "The Lord of Creation has given mankind the responsibility to develop the resources of nature so as to make possible a fuller human life for all peoples. This coincides with the beliefs of the native peoples who have traditionally called for a 'communal sharing' of the land which belongs to the Creator." Money, they noted, could not replace loss of land.

The question now facing the bishops is a fundamental one: was anybody listening?

Anglicans Against Colonialism

The self-criticism of the bishops was refreshing. The Anglican Church of Canada has been a pioneer in taking a positive stance with native peoples in recent years, although in retrospect, that stance has been singularly ineffective and has concealed a fact of life: the church itself is a colonizer and exploiter.

Hugh McCullum, former editor of the Anglican *Canadian Churchman*, and his wife, Karmel, are staffing an inter-church project on Northern development. McCullum says that he believes that Northern Canada constitutes a Third World situation every bit as oppressive as Latin America. He was willing to add that the church has been part of the problem through its residential schools imposing Western culture on native peoples.

He said that the Church's participation in the colonizing process gives it the responsibility to see that the native people are not exploited. He said that if the church backs off from this responsibility because the going got tough, they would deserve to lose the cooperation and respect of native peoples. McCullum's project is funded by the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United Churches of Canada.

McCullum notes that while there is an awareness in parts of the national levels of the three churches, he suspects there is antagonism at the grassroots level, and from the parts of the church that are still extending the colonial empire. He said that while Canadians have a "marvelous reputation around the world for justice and generosity, it's an utterly deserved reputation in terms of handling of aboriginal people."

Other Voices Loud and Clear

Other voices have rung out loud and clear. The Commission to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches, for instance, has determined that native people are the victims of a continuously practiced policy of "extermination, ethnocide, and exploitation." The WCC group has said from its Geneva, Switzerland, offices that clashes like those at Wounded Knee are "the inevitable consequence of such a policy."

But meanwhile, the mission churches in Lakota country are busy sending out new batches of fund-raising materials to further entrench themselves, assuring donors that "their Indians" are "good Indians", not like those bad militants, and keep those dollars rolling in, folks.

Father Gustavo Gutierrez, a leading Latin American theologian, believes that the Christian Church stopped its development sometime in the Middle Ages, with thinking that concerned itself with life after death, in which this life was just a passage way to the next life. "Temporal affairs were not important. This resulted in a nontransformation of today's world," Gutierrez says.

"This orientation is still held by the dominant groups of the Church," he notes. "They believe that to involve oneself in temporal affairs is to be in an area outside of the religious life. They believe that the Church should not involve itself in political affairs, but only in religious affairs."

He points to changes, though, such as the group of Christians dedicated to revolutionary change in Latin America who have gone to the roots of the exploitation and injustice of their nations. That has led them into direct conflict with their governments, similar to the conflict that radical Roman Catholics faced during the war in Vietnam. "Revolutionary Christians see their faith not as an obstacle to revolutionary commitment, but instead as a motive to it," Gutierrez believes. "In addition to questioning the social order, these Christians also question the role of the Church, because she is part of that social order."

"The poor person in the world is a creation of society," Gutierrez points out. "Thus today in our world a better word describing the poor is 'oppressed', because this word shows the cause of poverty. Christians have a tendency to want to work for the poor without looking for the causes of their poverty, without asking who is exploiting the poor. Thus the Christian stays out of trouble by not questioning the social system that created that poverty and allows it to continue... You can't work for the poor without getting involved in politics."

"We cannot become the sons of God without being brothers to other men," Gutierrez asserts. He points out that the "INRI" above Jesus' head on the cross signified that he was killed because he was a political criminal. He believes that true followers of Jesus, believing in equality in an oppressive society, will be upsetting to any political orders.

In 1975, the Anglican General Synod went on record as asking the Canadian Government to halt all planned development in the North and Northwest of Canada until all native land claims were settled, but the Government didn't seem to listen much — even if 300 church officials did give "unanimous approval" to the demand.

Cynics have noted that often religious officials do not judge revolutionary action for what it does for men, but by what it does for the Church. Historically, the Church has a sorry record of having yielded to such



opportunisms many times. That criticism has led many committed Christian thinkers to call for the institutional Church to cut itself loose from the established powers. They would have it stop turning to the powerful for prestige, for subsidies for its institutions, for exemptions and privileges for its clergy and buildings. Such favors, they point out, have to be dearly paid for.

While radical Latin American Catholics and their liberated northern kin have rejected an unthinking enthusiasm for industrial society, the Church itself and most of its people have been brainwashed by the propaganda for development and have tended to spread the Gospel of development as much as the Gospel of

the Faith. That has generally put the Church in the position of justifying as Christian a society that, in the eyes of other peoples, is unjust, cruel, and heedless of the misery it is causing. Technology, science, the economy, etc., seem to be incapable of being tainted with sin.

At the same time that the Church has sided strongly with governments, policies, institutions and strategies that have caused Western nations to become highly "developed" at the expense of colonial victims, the Church has helped — and prospered with — the notion that the underdevelopment of other nations is scandalous. But the misery of other peoples, whether it is native people of the northern Arctic or the poor of Brazil, reassures the consciences of developed nations, because they can feel just and somehow better because they can "help" by causing these nations to become developed in their own image.

Furthermore, the bulk of Western Christian peoples can feel piously scandalized at the wrongs and in-

Helmut Thielicke is another theologian speaking out for Christian change. He attacks "false conservatism" — an inclination to accept world conditions as they are. "Under this pseudoconservative banner," he says, "a corrupt social order, which keeps part of humanity living at substandard economic levels while allowing another class to exploit and profiteer, is regarded as a matter of divine Providence." He says that such an attitude causes political apathy, for how can one oppose "the will of God"?

"It is a terrible judgment on Christianity and on false theology that the decisive social movements of the last hundred years have not originated in any will on the part of the Church to play the good Samaritan," Thielicke accuses. "The decisive impulses for change have come from within the ranks of the oppressed themselves."

Pannell goes a step further. He believes that basically, the church is far more "American" than "Christian".

monetary and lobbying support to bring about positive change. AIM says that if the church can't shape itself up, then AIM will use every alternative to have churches removed from native communities.

A Beneficiary By-Product For Christians

When Christians finally see native people as an oppressed people — oppressed by social institutions operated by people who say they are Christians — then they will be able to learn from the spirituality of natural peoples instead of seeing them as objects to be missionized.

At a meeting of the American Academy of Religion in Los Angeles a few years ago, Prof. Ake Hultkrantz of the University of Stockholm told the 3,000 scholars attending the meeting, "Indian religion must take its place as one of the great religious traditions. It is not a finished chapter, but a continuous phenomenon of our times which has attained a distinctive depth."

Among the periodicals reflecting increased consciousness of Christian peoples — and which we find good reading here at NOTES, are:

Catholic Agitator, Los Angeles Catholic Workers, Ammon Hennacy House of Hospitality, 605 N. Cummings St., Los Angeles, California 90033.

The Other Side, POBox 158, Savannah, Ohio 44874

Sojourners, 1029 Vermont Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005

At a theological colloquium on Energy Development in the Canadian North at the University of Winnipeg a year ago, the theologians declared that "Where the rights of creature man to respect is denied, we must help him demand it. Where powerful creature men presume in their carpeted offices of political and economic power to take advantage of the powerless, we must object. We must call the powerful to stop mocking the Creator, Lord God, by refusing to respect the dignity of the lived words and the generations of his quieter creatures."

The theologians noted that the "so-called minority status of the native people is misleading." They pointed out that the native people are "part of the world's two-thirds majority whose homes, whose dwellings, are called hinterlands and renewable resources, and who are used and exploited by concentrations of industrial, political, and military strength."

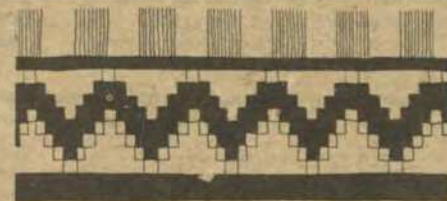
[Thanks to ideas and information from Associated Press, Post-American, Catholic Agitator, Canadian Press, Indian Record, Claudia Baskerville of the Ottawa Journal, Canadian Churchman, Tom Harpur of the Toronto Star, Dan L. Thrapp of the Los Angeles Times.]

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE

Dallas, Texas — Two black missionaries from South Africa have decided to fight sin in Texas.

The Rev. Jerry Nkesi, 44, and his wife, visited Dallas and said they were "shocked by the sinfulness" they saw among the young. "We don't have it quite that bad South Africa," Nkesi said. "This country is in need of the Gospel — Christian values are being thrown overboard."

The cycles continue to turn.



THE TRAGEDY OF THE MISSIONARY

"I am firmly convinced that the weakness of the Church in our society is the failure of Catholics to be Catholic. Most regular churchgoers, practising Catholics, never once in their whole lifetime speak to or care about or reach out to a poor man, to an outcast, to a person of another race.

"Some of us can experience an exhilarating spiritual surging of the ecumenical spirit — because after all, it isn't too hard to love those Anglicans or Lutherans. But for those who are different in culture or language or customs, most Catholics feel they have done it all by dropping a dollar donation at each yearly collection.

"The tragedy of the missionary effort in Canada is this — the native people, Indians and Eskimos, received the word of Christ and accepted Christianity. Their sincerity and religious fervour was an inspiration to the missionaries who lived with them. But Christianity has not accepted them, and there are very few Indians and Eskimos who have ever experienced Christian charity from other Canadians."

— Fr. Yvon Levac, OMI, Director Oblates Indian Eskimo Council

[Thanks to the Indian Record in which this quotation first appeared.]



justices perpetrated in other nations, but they feel no share in the guilt for them, even though the primary responsibility for those crimes is often theirs. Today, thanks to the advanced technology, one can kill at a great distance. One can kill by means of the highly complex network of relations between peoples and regions. Violence and injustice have become a collective activity, ranging from preparing an atmosphere of belief, furnishing weapons, pointing out victims, to actually sending out the killers. It is whole peoples who commit the big crimes today and who oppress other peoples. One can kill very effortlessly, by asphyxiating a people's economy, or by preventing its balanced growth.

While other religious thinkers note the wisdom in the separation of church and state, philosophers like Wes Michaelson, who was an executive assistant to Senator Mark Hatfield, feels that there is no difference between what is a political task and a spiritual one. "To pretend they are separate and different things results in amoral politics and irrelevant irrelevancy — and that is what we see around us most of the time," he says.

Foreign missionaries often put a damper on peoples of other cultures or nations changing the social order. "I feel very strongly as a foreigner that you can't get involved politically," says Fr. Malcolm Martin, a Catholic missionary who has been in Brazil, where native peoples face genocidal policies.

Michaelson notes that the Church often has related to the political realm "to sprinkle holy water on the established system and status quo. We put 'In God We Trust' on our coins and add the words 'Under God' to our pledge of allegiance and pray for His Blessings at the appropriate occasions." He observes that since the time of Constantine, a European emperor, "the state has longed for the blessing of the Church and usually got it — any political leader finds it quite helpful. Taking the superficial trappings of religion to sanctify the state makes it easier to believe that our side is always more virtuous in war and more benevolent in peace." If God Blesses America, he says, it is an encouragement to mere humans to "leave politics alone."

Michaelson points to the example of Gandhi, whose movement was spiritual and political simultaneously. "He understood that social change and individual change can never be artificially separated, that politics and spirituality are the same thing. Gandhi once said that most people who called themselves religious were essentially politicians. But he, whom people called a politician, was essentially a religious man."

William Pannell, who has taught at Fuller Seminary, appeals for change even in the evangelical Christian movement. He says that sin may be personal, but in today's society, sin is expressed in corporate and social terms. He says the church is falsely teaching that sin is real, but slums are not, that greed is real but excessive profiteering in the name of free enterprise is not. "The fruit of corporate sin now provides the economic base for our evangelical institutions," he notes.

The radical sociologist, C. Wright Mills, believes that in these critical times, "neither preachers nor laity matter... They can be safely ignored. In the West, religion has become a subordinate part of the overdeveloped society." Religion today "does not originate — it reacts. It does not denounce — it adapts. It does not set forth new models of conduct and sensibility — it imitates. Its rhetoric is without deep appeal; the worship it organizes is without piety." Mills feels that "religion has generally become part of the false consciousness of the world and of the self."

Mills queries, "Should not those who still have access to the peoples of Christendom stand up and denounce with all the righteousness and pity and anger and charity and love and humility their faith may place at their command the political and the militarist assumptions now followed by the leaders of the nations of Christendom?"

"But, you may say, 'Don't let's get the Church into politics.' If you do say that, you are saying, 'Don't let's get the Church into the world — let's be another distraction from reality. This world is political.'"

Groups like the American Indian Movement have challenged churches to reconsider the whole missionary relationship, including the thousands of young people who every summer head out to the reservations to "help the Indians". They point out that if there is any people on the earth who need help badly, it is the U.S. people themselves. "How can they possibly help the Indians?" an AIM pamphlet wonders. "What do they have that is worthwhile to contribute? Only by virtue of the colossal prejudice of the white world, which makes it think that the least-experienced white is worth more and knows more than all the dark-skinned people of the world, is this benignly-arrogant attitude possible."

AIM has made a distinction in its criticism between Christianity, and the "institution of the Christian Church." It is the latter, AIM speakers have said, that has "failed in its mission," and has "enslaved the minds of our children."

"We recognize that many of our Indian People who have embraced Christianity had, in fact, lived naturally by the teachings of Christ long before they heard of this man," an AIM publication says. "We also recognize that many individuals, both Indian and non-Indian, within the various Christian denominations, have been supportive of Indian self-determination and social change — and that many have, in fact, stood with us on critical, controversial issues. Therefore, we have total love and respect for these people within their churches." But, it goes on to say, "the time has come for the churches to realize the effect — in most cases, an adverse effect — that they have had on Indian People. They have a responsibility to begin advocating and implementing real Indian self-determination."

One of the items on the AIM agenda is the return of land which the churches have acquired over the years on various reservations. It also asks that churches give

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WILD EDIBLE FRUITS AND BERRIES by Marjorie Furlong and Virginia Pill. A little gem of a book with beautiful color photographs. Some recipes are included. 62 pages, \$3.95.

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THE INDIANS' BOOK recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis. A standard work in ethnomusicology, with 149 songs in full notation, with other material on native cultures. 585 pages, \$5.00.

LAUGHING BOY by Oliver LaFarge. A Pulitzer Prize-winning novel of the Navajo. \$2.45.

SING OUT! The Folk-Song Magazine's special issue on Native American music. An article by Rarihokwats, with a soundsheet with 11 songs, including the AIM Anthem. Really a good issue. \$1.25.

SOUL CATCHER by Frank Herbert. Another youth, caught between two worlds, decides upon retribution for his people in a spell-binding novel you won't put down. \$1.25.

THERE IS MY PEOPLE SLEEPING: The Ethnic Poem-Drawings of Sarain Stump. A powerful message, a sensitive book. \$2.95.

VOICES FROM WAKHON-TAH: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans. Edited by Robert Dodge and Joseph McCullough with a foreword by Vine Deloria, Jr. Contains the work of some new poets: Ray Young Bear, Donna White Wing, Marnie Walsh, Bruce Severy and others. 144 pages, \$2.75.

*Earth magician
shapes this world
Behold what he can do!
Round and smooth he
molds it.
Behold what he can do!*

— Pawnee, The Hako

FOR THOSE WHO WOULD KNOW THE NATIONS

APPALACHIAN JOURNAL: Special Cherokee Issue. \$2.50.

BLUE CLOUD QUARTERLY. 5 issues for \$1.10. Make a very nice gift, with new titles added regularly. Latest title: Sioux Songs.

CHEROKEE WORDS WITH PICTURES by Mary Chiltoskey. Attractive format of phrases and alphabet. \$1.25.

GREAT LAKES INDIANS: A Pictorial Guide by William J. Kubiak. The native peoples of the Great Lakes — Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan — as they dressed, hunted, ate and protected. Hardcover, \$7.95.

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO. Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache by James Kaywaykla as told to Eve Ball. A living biography of a people, well-remembered and well-spoken. \$4.95.

ISHI IN TWO WORLDS by Theodora Kroeber. One who walked from his world to life in California at the turn of the century. What he believed, felt, and did. The story of the lone survivor of the Yahi People. \$2.45.

THE TEWA WORLD: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society. \$2.95.

WILDERNESS MESSIAH. An easy-to-read account of the founding of the Great Law of Peace and the Iroquois Confederacy. \$1.95.

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

DAMS AND OTHER DISASTERS by Arthur C. Morgan. A century of the Army Corps of Engineers in civil (and uncivil) works, including flooding the reservations. "Why do they do it that way? Do they do it on purpose, or are they just dumb?" FDR asked. Hardcover, \$7.50, paperback, \$3.95.

HARPOON OF THE HUNTER by Markoosie. A first Inuit novel of the struggle for manhood and survival. Good for younger readers and adults too. 81 pages. Hardcover \$4.95, paperback \$2.25.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymount. Although this is still history told from a non-Iroquois perspective, there is interesting data in this scholarly work. 296 pages. Hardcover, \$13.00, softcover at \$5.75.

SITTING BULL: The Years in Canada by Grant McEwan. Most people don't know Sitting Bull and thousands of Sioux were exiled in Canada for years after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Although somewhat incomplete, this is a good essay of Canadian/American/native history. Paperback at \$4.95.

Order from:
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FOR THE ESOTERICALLY-INCLINED

THE GHOST-DANCE RELIGION AND WOUNDED KNEE by James Mooney. An extremely detailed account of the Ghost Dance religion, its songs, dances, ceremonies and social impact. Originally published in 1896, this data cannot be superseded. Illustrated. \$6.00.

REPORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA by Thomas Harriot. The complete 1590 edition with the 28 engravings by Theodor de Bry. \$2.50.

NAVAHO INDIAN ETHNOENTOMOLOGY by Leland Wyman and Flora Bailey. For those bugs about bugs, this is a Navajo classification of insects, references in myths and representation in dry paintings. \$3.00.

TO DIE GAME: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction, by W. McKee Evans. Guerilla warfare against the Ku Klux Klan and the political establishment of North Carolina after the War Between the States. Hardcover only, \$8.95.

THE WORLD'S RIM: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians by Hartley Burr Alexander. Written by a philosopher rather than an anthropologist, showing glimpses into cultures of rich humanity. 250 pages, \$2.95.

HOUSES AND HOUSE-LIFE OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES by Lewis Henry Morgan. House architecture of native peoples of North and Central America, and its relation to family form. 56 illustrations. \$2.95.

Voices From Wounded Knee

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Many colleges are now using it as a text. 282 large-sized pages, \$4.95.



Indigena Pamphlet Series

[INDIGENA is an organization devoted to the causes of the native peoples of the Americas. As an information center, it works cooperatively with AKWESASNE NOTES in this series of pamphlets, as well as having its own publications available. Write: INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704.]



The Situation of Indian Peoples in Guatemala

A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by foreign interests, and people of their own heritage who have taken another path. 25 cents.

Tiahuanacu Manifesto

Proclaimed by the native people of Bolivia. Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Aymara cultures today, of their view of the Spanish Conquest, and of the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken. 25 cents.

The Indian Situation in Brazil Today

An outline of the genocidal war being waged against the native people of the Amazon. The destruction of communities is documented. 25 cents.

The Rights of Indigenous Women in Colombia

A strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s. Like the others in this series, this pamphlet is illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto. 25 cents.

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie; covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Beautifully designed, illustrated, and written by the poet — a colorful presentation. 88 pages, \$2.50.

Note Cards from the 50th Issue Cover

A packet of 20 attractive note cards with a reproduction of the cover art for the 50th issue on one page, with three pages blank. 3" x 4". Envelopes are not included, but ordinary envelopes can be used. Only \$1 plus 25 cents shipping.

When you make your order, please add a small amount to cover the costs of postage & shipping . . .

and if you'll add another dollar or two to buy a book for a prisoner, we'll match it with the same —

Thanks for helping.

200 Years of Resistance Buttons

An eye-catching 2" pin of the above design, as an answer to the Bicentennial celebrations. 75 cents each, postpaid. Groups wishing to sell the pins as fund-raisers can obtain 100 for \$37.50 — but payment must be included with the order.

200 Years of Resistance Stamps

A sheet of 24 stamps, printed in two colors, for \$1.00 as a means of raising money for AKWESASNE NOTES at the same time you raise consciousness about native people and the Bicentennial Year. The stamps are on paper that sticks when moistened for use on letters and in public places as mini-reminders. Sheets are perforated. Groups wishing to sell the stamps as fund-raisers can obtain 100 sheets for \$50 with payment made in advance.

Wounded Knee Stamps

These stamps are minatures of poster number 3. These are also \$1 a sheet.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

[The Six Nations Museum is at Onchiota, New York, where from Memorial Day until Labor Day each year, thousands of persons get a better understanding of the Iroquois heritage and way of life. The museum is owned by Tehanetorens, also known as Ray Fadden, Mohawk Wolf Clan. Most of the pamphlets in this series were issued by the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, and have been redesigned and reprinted by AKWESASNE NOTES.]

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old — and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00.

The Migration of the Iroquois

Pictographic writing and text in English, with handsome drawings of Iroquois life by Kahonhes, detailing a chapter of North American history — how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. Newly reprinted, 75 cents.

Conservation

A short booklet explaining what happened to the Natural World here in North America from the native viewpoint — and what needs to happen now. Pictographic writing and text. For children and schools, 15 cents.

Deskaheh

A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada, and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.

CHIMBORAZO



Life on the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador



edited by John Brandi
with translations by
Michael Scott
and Mal Warwick.

Chimborazo

Poet John Brandi records the thoughts, poetry, and experiences of the native people of Ecuador — plus photographs and his own account of a stay with them. Poets, anthropologists, students of Latin America, native people and other human beings will find this an important book. \$2.50.

TALES OF THE IROQUOIS



by tehanetorens

This attractive collection of fifteen teaching legends of the Iroquois is part of the Six Nations Indian Museum Series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The book is 99 pages, softbound cover, with striking illustrations by Kahonhes. The tales are as Tehanetorens remembers them being told to him. For many of them, along with the text, are pictographs which tell the story — and aid non-readers in remembering the story. *Tales of the Iroquois* is a unique gift for children or adults and is excellent for use in classrooms. ISBN 0-914838-14-8. \$2.50.

BEST OF AKWESASNE NOTES SERIES

[AKWESASNE NOTES' first fifty issues contained almost 2400 pages of articles, essays, and information about native and natural peoples. Only a third of those issues are still in print. So that information of continuing value remains available for study and discussion, this series reprints some of the outstanding articles which have appeared in NOTES.]

1. How Democracy Came to St. Regis & The Thunderwater Movement

Two historical articles by Rarihokwats, using data from Indian Affairs archives to detail how the bureaucracy deliberately thwarts and destroys native movements trying to help their people. 24 pages. 75 cents.



STAMPS

BUTTONS

RESOURCES

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

Mohawk basketmakers keep turning out fine baskets of many sizes and shapes, using black ash splint and sweetgrass, local materials. Basketmaking is one of many old and useful traditions among the native people that has survived into today, and may help us to survive into tomorrow. Some of the designs go into the distant past: the pack-basket, corn-washing basket, storage baskets. Others are more fancy: sewing baskets, kettle baskets, pin-cushions, strawberry baskets. They range in size from the tiny thimble basket to the 24"-high packbasket.

There is also beadwork: nice earrings, necklaces, hair-ties, chokers and others. Leatherwork is limited, but sometimes is available.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. While we can fill some individual orders, we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising for a church bazaar, powwow, trading post, coffee party, etc. Order a 30-day consignment. It will have a retail price tag of \$133, and you will be billed for \$100 plus shipping. Before the end of 30 days, you can return any unsold items and pay for those sold. Paid-for unsold items can be returned for full credit or refund at anytime.

Order from:

Kaientares
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Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK — blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos — is available from AKWESASNE NOTES. It is mixed, packed, and shipped at Akwesasne. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are \$1.15 each, or 3 for \$3.15, postpaid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼-pound or ½-pound pouches.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos — just barks, roots, leaves, herbs. Great for people who can't quite quit smoking.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the six blends for \$25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted anytime.

Order from:

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TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

15 minutes — \$5.00 30 minutes — \$7.00
45 minutes — \$8.50 60 minutes — \$10.00 90 minutes — \$11.00

I AM NATIVE. Aztec poet Juan Reyna relates the experience of native people in Occupied Aztlan, talks about being "Chicano", and tells how he found his own direction. Leaving migrant labor behind at age 9, he has learned that "you can never be free being something that you're not." Included are two of his poems mixed with music from the album "Mestizo" by Daniel Valdez of El Teatro Campesino. 30 minutes.

THIS LAND IS OUR LAND. James WahShee, then president of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, talks about the initial position paper prepared for negotiating a reaffirmation of land "ownership" in the face of Canadian northern development. 450,000 square miles, principally in the Mackenzie District, are involved. Produced by the Alberta Native Communications Society. 26 minutes.

ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND. A tribute to Richard Oakes. Excerpts from a speech in 1970 when he forecasted most of the actions of reclaiming Indian lands. In an interview with Louis Cook, Mohawk poet Peter Blue Cloud talks about his experiences at Alcatraz and his memories of Richard Oakes. Blue Cloud reads three poems from the book he edited, "Alcatraz Is Not An Island". 24 minutes.

DENE NATION: "When you Cut Through This Land, You Are Cutting Through Me." Native leaders along the route of the proposed \$7.5-billion Mackenzie Valley Pipeline address the Berger Inquiry. 44 minutes.

THE LAGUNA REGULARS AND GERONIMO. Leslie Silko reads her incredible narrative poem about Laguna scouts and their adventures. "We always felt that it was us that got away." 34 minutes.



LAND: KAKWIRAKEREN OF GANIKEN. A spokesman for the Mohawk settlement in the Adirondacks speaking to a university group in March, 1976, gives a broad sketch of Iroquois/European relations with particular emphasis on the role of the Iroquois in the Revolutionary War. From this history, he goes on to explain the treaties on which the Mohawk land reclamation is based. 22 minutes.

50th Issue Special Poster
Printed in four colors
\$1 (no. 28)



28. Splinters of the Tree
— four colors)

POSTERS



Chief Joseph



Wounded Knee



Zuni Governor



Sitting Bull



Three Sisters



Grandma Hunter



Poundmaker



Shackled Native



Family Portrait



Three Horsemen



Fire Carrier



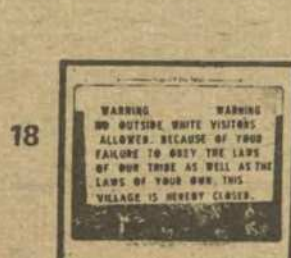
Dan Katchongva



Our Ideas



Statue of Liberty



Signs of the Times



Flathead Chief



Rush Gatherer



Bear-Belly



22 Campesinos



Wintu Woman



Shrine of Hypocrisy



25. Circle of Life



26. Crow Dog



27. Blackfoot Chief

29. The Things That Are Ours



Ganienkeh Poster

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for \$1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. One poster, "Splinters of the Tree" (28) is in four colors and is \$1 each. We reserve the right to substitute in selections of posters when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows — 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for \$25. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price — but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs well over \$5,000, and rising postage costs will come to about \$2,000. Then there are typewriters, ribbons, glue, supplies — and that doesn't include costs of bare maintenance for full-time staff. We are not funded by universities, foundations, government, etc.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as \$1, \$5, \$10. Some people have lots of money, others have none — we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's how the Creation's cycles keep moving.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated. Write:

Dorothy Thomas
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you the human beings who read these words. There are many ways — responsibilities, actually — readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

— take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.

— send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Philadelphia? Ashville? Miami? Milwaukee? Albuquerque? Portland? Edmonton? Kenora? Helsinki? Melbourne?

— send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request. You are the staff of NOTES.

— take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

— send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

— sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

— Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

— form a committee, or go by yourself, to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures, calendars. Tell them to write — or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared — and to you all, we are grateful.

— let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms (\$4.60 and \$6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105
Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road,
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452



BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print — numbers 3, 4, and 5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3,4,5,6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) had five issues. All are still available.

Volume Eight has had four issues, of which this is number 4. The other three are still available.

Back issues cost 50 cents each. All available back issues can be obtained for \$7.50 — that will be about seventeen of them as supplies hold.

THINKING AHEAD

- A few years ago, a woman from Florida came to visit. She was interested in what we were doing here, and she helped with letter-writing and other tasks during her stay with us. After her return home, we received a letter from her, with an envelope to be opened upon her death.
- We wrote to thank her for her thoughtfulness, but soon that letter was returned, marked: "Deceased". In her will, she had left a small bequest to keep AKWESASNE NOTES alive and

strong. Through her thoughtful gift, her interest in our work is perpetuated in a long-range project.

Another faithful supporter of AKWESASNE NOTES does not have money — but he owns the land on which he lives. He has asked us to keep his house in good repair while he lives on this earth, and afterwards, he has willed it for the use and benefit of AKWESASNE NOTES.

NOTES was chosen, he said, because he wanted his land to go to people who would keep it

clean, and where his spirit could have peace.

Many religious groups are totally supported by bequests such as these. There are often tax advantages through deferred giving plans which produce a guaranteed income throughout life and which would aid AKWESASNE NOTES afterwards. Insurance policies can name AKWESASNE NOTES as a beneficiary, or a will can do the same.

We mention this now as a reminder of a way to help us remain strong.



Extra copies of this issue are available for further distribution. We can send one copy or a hundred or more. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and it also helps to finance the next issue. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each. You pay after they have been sold. If payment is made in advance, the price is 25 cents. For \$5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation or church group. For \$25, 100 families on a reservation could each receive a copy. Send your order to: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683 or telephone (518) 483-2540.

1977 Native American Calendar

The 1977 AKWESASNE NOTES calendar is something special. It can be used as a regular calendar — or for those who are trying to restore harmony with the natural world into their lives, it is a moon calendar. There are thirteen "moon months", and each one begins with the new moon, always a time for sacred activity.

This year's calendar is of a different design to make it easier to handle and display — the binding is in the center instead of at the top, and thus the calendar can be shipped flat. However, the size is the same: 17 x 22 inches.

As always, each page is a separate work of art, suitable for framing or posters long after 1977 is past. Artists include Kahonhes, Clayton Brascoupe, Carl Winters and Rokwaho. A reduction of one month's art is shown here.

With each day are important events in native history. Names of months in some native languages are given. The theme for the calendar is "Harmony With The Cycles".

The first shipment of the calendars went in the mails on November 20. The first run of 15,000 is 2/3 gone, so place your order now to avoid any wait. A second printing is already underway, however, and should be ready in mid-December.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed in a separate envelope to an address you have supplied us, with a gift card with your name and message enclosed. For native organizations, this is a nice way of acknowledging the



THE MOON IS THE LEADER OF FEMALE LIFE. OUR GRANDMOTHER. IN HER MONTHLY CYCLE, SHE HELPS US KEEP TRACK OF TIME. SHE DETERMINES PLANTING, BIRTH, TIDES, CEREMONIES — SHE INFLUENCES OUR LIVES. WE HONOR OUR GRANDMOTHER BY RESPONDING TO HER FORCES AND UNDERSTANDING HER WAYS.

members. Or we can supply the calendar in quantities for you to distribute as you wish.

Native organizations can use the calendars for fund-raising. In quantities of 50 or more, there is a 50% discount, plus shipping costs. Many groups use this as a major income for their programs, selling many hundreds of calendars on a reservation, campus, in offices and workplaces, churches, meetings. Bookstores or other sales outlets wanting a lesser quantity may order at a 40% discount — and persons can help us by encouraging bookstores and gift shops to sell the

calendar for us. Calendar sales are an important source of revenue for the continuation of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Single copies of the calendar retail at \$3 each, postpaid, in a large envelope. Order early to avoid disappointment. Write:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

Comments



The Intersection of the Roads

NOTES: Particularly to Angelika of Tonawanda (Early Autumn issue, p. 44):

I can only tell you what I have seen, and I have seen a very few of those who stand where the white road, the red road, the black road and the yellow road meet.

To me, these are what you might call holy people. Their power, the Creator's power, makes me feel like an infant not yet having learned to walk.

The roads do not split them. But the roads split me in my wrong-thinking that they cannot be reconciled. As long as I keep thinking that there is no point at which they meet, then I am very confused, lost, and hostile.

These roads meet at the Creator.

I am seeking that meeting place. I know it's there, somewhere. Not no-where. For as long as I've been travelling, I've barely made the first step.

Peter Moore
Sudbury, Ontario

Churches Are Not Divine

NOTES: In spite of any claim to the contrary, a church is not a divine institution, but a deceptive human organization. History is witness that the Christian Church committed crimes and waxed upon world-wide cruelty and injustice in the name of a God that Christ never dreamed of. Yet, Christianity is not the only villain of history. All institutionalized religions share in the Grand Illusion of having the last word on the state of divinity with the cosmic result, so finely analyzed by Gayle High Pine (Early Winter issue, "The Disease that Afflicts Creation"), that the whole of mankind is now completely out of focus with the Creation. This is truly the root of world madness for which the Native American became the sacrificed innocent victim in this country.

No one is responsible for being born a Jew or a Christian, an Indian or a White. The important thing is what each one of us is doing to question and upset the crooked status quo created by centuries of errors. Christians do not have to remain Christians — if they are sincere in their own evolution, the best form of protest is to exit in style. Though the unmasking of past hypocrisies is a necessary step on the road to self-rebirth, it is a waste of precious energy for a Christian to dwell forever upon the past. He should have the courage to learn from history and map out the future with new landmarks.

When we understand, as Gayle High Pine implies, that the source of eternal life for man is to live in harmony with the Creation and that the Creation is a work of love, to stimulate hatred in the heart of the American Indian toward whites or toward the church is to add insult to injury.

While the anger of the Red Man is justified, it is creative only if it stems from a sense of utter outrage at the historical injustices still presently perpetrated against him. He will ultimately be deluding himself if he thinks that he can adopt without damage to his own soul the worst of white men imports — the twin destructive powers of hate and corruption.

Elaine A. Hopson
New York, N.Y.



A Change of Heart

NOTES: Sometime ago I wrote you asking that my name be removed from your mailing list because of the evident anti-Christian attitude of items printed in the NOTES because I am a born-again Christian. My first loyalty is to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, then comes my loyalty to the American Indians.

I got so many good letters from the readers of NOTES, some critical, but most very good and friendly. One came from Germany, another from Pennsylvania.

I am withdrawing my request to drop my name, for I now wish to receive NOTES because it has information on our fellow Indians that is found in no other publication. I hope to see NOTES more widely read. I enclose my donation.

W.A. (Alpha) Williams
531 So. 10th St.
Canon City, Colorado 81212

A Critique For The Mass Asylum

NOTES: A "well done" to Sotsisowah for the article, "Western Peoples, Natural Peoples" in Early Spring issue. The piece deserves separate printing and distribution. Would that our mass asylum could absorb his critique and implement his counsel as well as he has expressed both.

Unlike other publications in Americanada, AKWESASNE NOTES grows in stature with each number issued.

Chris MacLeod
Creston, British Columbia

More Than Tom Sawyer

NOTES: The excellent article on the current condition of the Moro People of the Philippines (Early Autumn issue) brings to mind the writings of Mark Twain.

Twain was incensed over the imperial designs of his country, and spent the last ten years of his life using his immense prestige criticizing U.S. aggression. He empathized with the embattled Moros in a scathing polemic published in May, 1902, in the *North American Review*, "In Defense of General Funston". His attack on Funston for tricking the rebel chief Aguinaldo was fueled by Twain's shock at the disintegration of U.S. integrity. In his *Autobiography*, Twain writes on the massacre of 600 Moros in 1906 under General Wood. The U.S. genocide of native peoples appear in other polemics, namely *The War Prayers*, *To The Person Sitting in Darkness* and *Our Blushing Exiles* — in the last two pieces, Twain's rage is eloquent.

It is important to bring this up for three reasons — to remind people that America's greatest writer was far from a humorist and children's book writer. Second, that Twain easily made the connection between the black slavery he knew as a boy and the colonial slavery he saw in his travels around the world, and third, that Twain used his enormous popularity and prestige in the last ten years of his life to ceaselessly score U.S. aggression abroad — particularly in the Philippines. He was then an old man; his wife, two daughters and old friends were dying around him, leaving him lonely. But this never stopped Samuel Clemens from striking injustice wherever he saw it.

Richard Heath
Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts

Thanks from Joanna LeDeaux

PEOPLE OF NOTES: Though this is very late in getting to you, I nonetheless would like to extend my hands in greeting, warmth, and thanks for the excellent coverage of my case, and also the coverage of events of interest and concern to native Americans. Via AKWESASNE NOTES I was also made aware of the concern people from many different places in the world had for what was happening to today's "Indians".

The native people I met in prison — women and men — were hungry for news from home. In many cases NOTES provided that — in others it was one of the few links to the outside world, and the only tangible part of a culture, a way of life, that sometimes seems so far away, from a distant past.

To the people everywhere, my sisters and brothers whose letters, prayers, and support encouraged me, I can say simply thank you.

Each time I found myself thinking too much of my own situation, I would remember the children I knew from the reservation, whose mothers or fathers are now dead, imprisoned or facing imprisonment, whose parents struggle each day just to provide their families with food, of the terror of irrational violence and to know that this need not be their reality.

Each day I pray for the brothers and sisters who still are not free of institutions, or poverty, or a strange culture. Each day I remember that I am a sovereign native American who will continue to struggle for self-determination.

Joanna (LeDeaux) Meyer
POBox 26018
Los Angeles, California 90026

[Joanna LeDeaux was a legal worker on the Pine Ridge Reservation who was summoned to appear before a U.S. grand jury. She honored the sovereignty of the chiefs and People she was working for, and refused to testify, saying the jury was in violation of the sovereignty of the Lakota Nation. She was ordered to prison for contempt, and there she gave birth to her child. Finally, she was released by direct order of the U.S. Attorney General. The Editors.]

Tricked Into Controls

NOTES: The Menominee Restoration Act is designed by a few people to put across the oldest United States Government way of life on people — and that's of "control". The people on the Menominee Reservation have been tricked by Ada Deer. She put an Act together and put it before the U.S. Government, because what they had in design for the future of the Menominees was total control anyway.

She agreed to the Reorganization Act of 1934, which put all of our Tribe underneath it. Now we're faced with the problems other reservations have — the BIA control, the FBI, the division in tribe. The Indian way is not to have nine people controlling and making decisions that govern 4,000 people and their land. That's all I have to say.

Neil Hawpetoss
Menominee Nation

The U.S. People Are Our Allies

BROTHERS & SISTERS: The statement I made (Early Autumn issue) passed through several hands on its way to you. During this passage, a fundamental error was made. At several points in the statement, the words "U.S. people" were substituted for the word "American". The reason this mistake is serious is because "American" denotes the Government, while "U.S. people" denotes our ally — the working class person in the U.S.

As I have stated many times previously, I believe very deeply in a unity of races struggling within the U.S., including the "U.S. people." During Wounded Knee '73, a nationwide poll showed the majority of U.S. people supported our stand. In order for us to win further victories and to succeed in the end, we must ally ourselves with working-class whites as well as our Third World comrades within the U.S. Together, we form the majority, separate we are weak and of no serious threat to the Americans.

I hasten to assure you that neither I, nor any native leader I know of sees the U.S. people as the enemy. True to the teachings of our Old Ones, we believe in the unity of all people in harmony with our Mother Earth. Amerika is a political entity, commanded by a small, ruling elite. The common American has no voice in governmental policies, no matter if one is red, white, black, brown or yellow. Only when we all realize this, will a revolutionary unity be formed, in order for us to take control of and transform the government. This is what I am pledged to work towards.

Carter Camp, P.O.W.
Ponca Nation

War Cannot Make Us Free

NOTES: In reply to Carter Camp (Early Autumn issue) you, our prisoner of war, may end up being a martyr to the cause, but war is not the answer. If that 200 years of history has taught us anything, it must have taught us that war brings no solutions. War can decimate us forever, war can take away our lands and make us prisoners, but war cannot make us free. Only peace and the tolerance of the greater society which has so overwhelmed us can give us that.

We must fight, but our fight must be through the system which has conquered our bodies and our freedom, if not our souls. We must fight through the courts, through the press, through our relations with others, through our refusal to give up that which is uniquely ours. We must fight to keep our languages, our cultures, our traditions. We must fight to keep our children and to educate them in our ways. But we must never again make the mistake of fighting with knives and guns and killing, for that only makes us like those whom we hate and who oppress us.

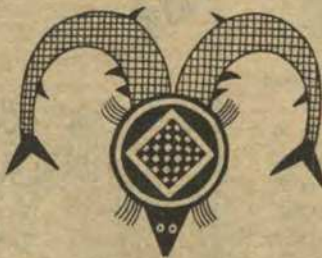
And perhaps more important, even most important of all, we must no longer fight among ourselves. Some of us have gone to the other side, out of fear, out of depression, out of shame. We must fight to get those lost individuals back, to accept back into the fold those who have gone astray, and then united, we can fight with all the fiber of our beings to retain what we are, what we were, and what we will be forevermore.

Patricia Spier
Boylston, Massachusetts

An Inch For Clarity

NOTES: I don't want to start a two-way conversation in your valuable space — I just want an inch to ask Jason Mahadeva to read my letter in the Early Summer issue again. I didn't say I was proud of *everything* my ancestors had done. I said I was not responsible for *anything* they had done — I am responsible for what I do.

Hazel M. White
Kansas City, Missouri



White People Have Their Struggle

NOTES: I want to thank all the authors who wrote in their articles about how the white man who has spirit should not try to become an Indian, but rather strengthen himself and help to change his white peoples. That is the best way — we who have the true spirit are already brothers. We must work on our own kind who are confused, because we can best confuse them.

Indians must realize that we white people have our own struggle, perhaps stranger than yours — born as whites in this colonized white society, thinking all your life things are the way movies portray it — and how hard it is to wake up! But many people are.

Please start writing more articles dealing with the foundations of the American Indian philosophy of life and religion — we don't need to travel to the East to find spiritual guidance when you have it to offer to us here on this continent. And how remarkable to find the parallels with the Eastern philosophies!

Dan Fecko
10 Frick St., #101
Annapolis, Maryland 21403

Finding True Christians

NOTES: I feel that being exposed to NOTES has strengthened me, and the letters I read open many doors in my mind.

True Christians are hard to find and are gems. Please be more respectful of our Christian brethren. Let's not let religious differences divide us. I love you and respect your religion — I only ask the same of you. Many of us are trying to become better Christians, and it is hard. We need your love, your tolerance.

After 200 years as a nation, the plague that hit the Indians is now stealthily creeping in on the whites. Will we sleep through it, or join the struggle to eliminate the evil plague that wants our freedom, our very breath?

Mary Primus
Long Prairie, Minnesota



Young Crows Learning To Speak

NOTES: At Crow, the status of the Office of Coal Research has changed considerably since Pat Stands' controversial re-election. During August, the OCR experienced a severe reduction in staff. Supposedly the layoffs were in anticipation of budget cuts, but the results were that those who had been supportive of the lawsuit are no longer on the staff, and the director who initiated the suit was laid off or fired a few months earlier. Within the Crow Nation, those who oppose coal development have become so alienated that few attend council meetings. The editor of the tribal newspaper had his funding cut because his articles were too radical — pro-AIM.

There are some young people who have talked about joining together and forming a coalition which will attend council meetings. Perhaps some NOTES readers could share some guidelines for organizing and overcoming the fear that people have to speak out.

Years ago, Plenty Coups, the last great Crow leader, told his biographer, Frank Linderman: "We love our country because it is beautiful, because we were born here. Strangers will covet it and someday try to possess it, as surely as the sun will come tomorrow. Then there must be war, unless we have grown to be cowards with no love in our hearts for our native land..."

Names Withheld
Crow Agency, Montana

A Disturbing Comparison

NOTES: I read Mrs. Beyrich's letter in the Early Autumn issue, and I am appalled that she equates the Nazi philosophy with ideas expressed in Rarihokwats' and Trudell's articles. She writes much of the ideals of the Nazi Party, but little of the actions that this philosophy produced. Does "serving the people" mean conquering and enslaving other peoples and exterminating an entire religious and cultural group?

I do not mean to condemn the German people. I myself am German, and my parents experienced the Nazi era and the war. In the '20s and '30s, the German people were oppressed and degraded by the rest of the world for being the "villains" of World War I. So they grasped blindly at the opportunity for new life and identity that the Nazi philosophy provided. But this does not justify the actions of the Nazi Party.

I am in accordance with the philosophy of natural living spread by AKWESASNE NOTES, and I am disturbed that someone would equate this with the racism and revenge Hitler preached, and the genocide and warfare he practiced.

Almut Koester
Lexington, Massachusetts

The German Parallel Again

GREETINGS: Apparently the letter from the German lady in the Early Autumn issue seemed absurd to you, but it is both right and relevant, in part at least, and you should consider it more carefully.

First, consider the case of the German People, the largest ethnic group in Europe. But except for Austria, they had no effective political union, and although the separate petty-states had considerable freedom, they were all dominated by larger nation-states. Then Frederick the Great made Prussia a major military power, after which Bismarck gave the Germans their very own Empire under Prussian leadership. But all that came to ruin in World War I, and once again, Germany was controlled and disposed of by foreign powers. And a savior came to them in their misery, and promised them everything they had ever wanted, together with revenge, just like the lady said — all the very things you people want, and have this desperate longing for. The Germans bought it and became a great nation-state, for a brief season, anyway. However, in practice, National Socialism did digress somewhat from the promise, as such movements usually do.

Robert E. Sagehorn, Editor
Western World Review
POBox 2714
Culver City, California 90230

:LETTERS:

The Problems of Waking People Up

NOTES: You are the best paper I have ever read — your articles are informative and make one do some hard thinking. I am white, and I believe white America should wake up, and this is going to take the help of other whites under the guidance of their red brothers and sisters.

I have passed NOTES out, written editorials, and talked to people about what I've read. I'm regarded as an "Indian freak" and I can almost hear my friends saying, "Here we go again." I would like to hear from others who find themselves in the same boat, and from those who can offer advice on how something constructive can come about.

Melanie Izzo
4660 Richmond Center Road
Livonia, New York 14487

Being Involved With AIM Means...

NOTES: Any involvement with the movement goes far beyond a little time spent in a meeting here or a powwow there. To be really involved takes pretty much a lifetime — maybe more. It means working with each other although you may not like the way they talk or the way they joke.

Being involved means giving up those Saturday night dates to answer phones. It means going to bed at dawn and still getting up with the sun. It means being harassed for the bald tire on the car you barely talked someone into lending you. It means getting a call to meet a brother or sister at the airport in 45 minutes when you live 2 hours away.

Being involved means having to come up with \$50,000 bail money when you and your friends only have a dime. Being involved means a cup of coffee and a roadmap for breakfast.

I just wanted to let the brothers and sisters know that there are other people who are still hanging in there. I'm happy to know that I'm not alone in my goals. For those out there who feel like you are moving and going nowhere — hey, we're still getting it done!

An optimistic West Coast AIM Sister

Reflecting The Heart's Rhythms

NOTES: What are enough prayers to call aloud for you of the Mohawk Nation?

Our family is so very much strengthened reading the newspaper/vision AKWESASNE NOTES.

To know your efforts to help our brothers and sisters in the earthquake areas of Guatemala reflects the rhythm in our hearts — hear it aloud! To us, it is our voyage way also.

Shu Tung Yu
New York, N.Y.



Healing Ourselves With Herbs

NOTES: We must learn to survive without doctors, nurses, health departments running our lives for us. I'm sure we have the brain power to help ourselves. We need basic herb knowledge that some of our elders once knew, only to be forgotten in our fast, new, easy world of today. The herbs take longer to cure, but they don't call for unnecessary operations and drugs that cause bad side effects and addictions.

Let's gather all the information from our old people and get together to heal the sick. Learn about our old diet that kept us strong, grow our own food because it's healthier.

Ghalli
Pomo Nation

Your Home Town Paper

NOTES: Sometimes I get the impression that your news about South Dakota occurrences are much clearer than the word-of-mouth news we get right here on the Rosebud. Keep it up.

Doug Smith
Mission, South Dakota

New Tricks for an Old Radical

FRIENDS: As a white man, I was surprised to start receiving your paper about six months ago, and I've been amazed and fascinated with every issue since. You must be the only paper in existence that offers itself free to anyone that wants it. As an old radical, I've found all the papers I've taken have been continually appealing for money — always desperate for funds. Since you don't appeal at all, I'm more inclined to give you something. Your honesty and sincerity is like a drink of water from a mountain spring on a hot day.

Al Amery
E. Pepperell, Massachusetts

Making It In The Big Time

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Somewhere along the way you have forgotten who you are and what your elders taught you. Your paper is filled with War Mongers, Left Wingers, Hate and Revenge. So inside it says "Geronimo did this and Geronimo did that." Oh yes, we've always had our Geronimos and the stories from the elders were long and colorful. But that was not the lessons we were taught to follow.

It is unfortunate that the American Indian cannot stand up and get back what is rightfully his from the beginning. It is unfortunate that he has to learn his lesson from another breed from another continent to get the message. There is a way for the true American to overcome his hardships — Breeding and Education is the answer, not Revenge.

You have a good start with a newspaper that could advance our younger generation, and improve our relationship with a better understanding with the people we have to live with. But you need a different format if you want to quadruple your sales, and the name of the game is "Make Money".

You can use an article on the mistreatment of the American Indian, but then leave it, don't feed on it. Enough has been said — bite your lip, breed and send your sons and daughters to the universities so they can become lawyers, state senators, judges. That's where the decisions will be made on who owns what in this country.

Show what the American Indian is all about in his beliefs, mannerisms, religion. Show his genteel side. Show some love. Show what family means. Use some stories about what some Indians have accomplished. Tell stories in your paper that the children will love. Your paper could be standard reading for all of the Y-Guides. Think of the thousand more copies you could sell. You need a column on how to make authentic Indian articles. Next, a column on Indian cooking. There are thousands of women who would treasure them, and sales would double on this column alone. And a column on design, fashions of dresses, shirts, pants. You could make a nice amount from women sending for patterns. Good columns could be written about Indian sport figures — have we all forgotten about the great Jim Thorpe? This is just to mention a few ideas.

Hallelujah Joseph Foy Yalatkitt
Toluca Lake, California

The Most Racist Rag I Ever Saw

NOTES: I did not ask to be put on your mailing list, and have no interest in your radical AIM paper. You deplore racism, but your paper is the most racist rag I ever saw. Please remove my name from your mailing list immediately.

Gaitha Browning
Brownwood, Texas

Candles In The Darkness

NOTES: When I was growing up, I had the opportunity of meeting many different people who had a great influence on my life. Some of them were Indian, and it is in appreciation of what they offered me that I am writing this letter. Their expression of gentle nobility and integrity in living was a source of inspiration to me — it became clear that such qualities of true character rightly should have the highest value in the world.

Could it be because man (male and female) has ignored these qualities that he finds himself with the problems he has today? When such qualities of character as patience, honesty, kindness, humility, courage, wisdom and integrity are expressed consistently in individual lives, here is a real basis for change on a worldwide scale!

Marvin Schimunk
POBox 9
100 Mile House, British Columbia

Help For New Echota

NOTES: New Echota, the last eastern capital of the Cherokee Nation, was formerly maintained by the Georgia Historical Commission, now absorbed into the Department of Natural Resources. Due to the economic crunch, the site may be abandoned by the department and not maintained properly, or turned over to a county historical society. Write a letter to the Department of Natural Resources (270 Washington St., Atlanta, Georgia 30334) and the Governor of Georgia to keep the site open — there's hardly a more important site relating to native Americans in North America.

Sharlotte Neely Williams
Department of Anthropology
Northern Kentucky State College
Highland Heights, Kentucky 41076

A Voice In The United Nations

NOTES: We are a race of people who have been here on this continent for who knows how long. Why don't we have a representative in the United Nations? Don't we have a right to be here just like the rest of those people? When I speak of a representative, I don't mean people like W.W. Keeler or Claude Cox to name a few — I mean Indians!

Other nations have a spokesman in the UN — why can't we?

George S. Tiger
Muskoke Nation (Oklahoma)

Racist Kiddie Shows

NOTES: In the Cincinnati area there is a large well-attended amusement park — King's Island. One of the most popular amusements of the park is a train-ride which is beset upon by "wild Indians" — a la the old movie tradition. Part of a day's fun, and no one thinks much about it. Or so it would seem.

Recently I was brought up sharp while in conversation with a small boy who had spent a day at King's Island. Vivid in his memory was this fearsome train ride. Seemingly in one fell swoop, he had learned to mistrust, dislike, and fear the native American people. Indeed, he did not think of Indians as Americans or native. He did not think of himself as one born of immigrants.

I happened to have been carrying NOTES, and opened to the centerfold to reveal a picture of a kindly-faced Indian. "This is an Indian," I said. Did I imagine the fear flickering in his eyes? "Would you like to have this newspaper and read about Indians?" The answer was "No."

Because I feel decent-thinking people don't want to perpetuate prejudices and hatreds against a long-suffering people, I have written a protest letter to the owners of the King's Island Amusement Park, Taft Broadcasting Co., 1906 Highland Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45219 asking the president, Lawrence H. Rogers II not to employ the amusement park to influence minds against a burdened People.

Jacqueline Beckwith
Cincinnati, Ohio



... and More Racist Kiddie Shows

NOTES: This is for anyone who knows who the people are in Georgia who can stop the theatre of "Indian Horrors" which every summer frightens thousands of non-Indian children and creates an unforgettable stereotype.

There is a children's "frontier" train at Stone Mountain outside of Atlanta, Georgia, which takes children on a ride through "Indian Territory" and naturally they are attacked by "hostile raging savages". My own nephew has been frightened in this manner.

I am hoping there are Indian pressure groups in that area that can stop this damaging act.

Jacqueline Sluss
Mandan, North Dakota

HAU! Brothers and Sisters. We are starting a state-wide newsletter and want information for Our People. They are mainly from four different nations: Dakota or Sioux, Winnebago, Omaha and Iowa.

We respect the ways of your people and strength of your spirits, for they are in one with our ways. We need the truth that you pass on to all that seek it. Honor the Earth.

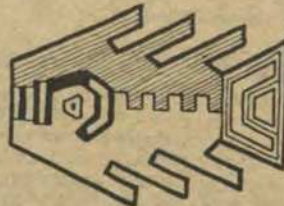
Tom LaBlanc
United Indians of Nebraska
11924 Poppleton Plaza
Omaha, Nebraska 68114

The National Indian Holiday Idea

NOTES: We have been kicking an idea around here about a "National American Indian Holiday", a day of celebration for the First Americans. One of the reasons that sparked the idea is the Columbus Day holiday — everyone takes that day off except us Indians.

I would like to know what other Indians and agencies think of the idea.

Ozzie Sheakley POBox 449
POBox 449
Juneau, Alaska 99801



Finding One's Universe

NOTES: I myself never had an identity as a child. Nor could I understand the confusion and shame I felt.

The peace I always longed for was within myself. I now feel good about who and what I am. AKWESASNE NOTES had a lot to do with that. I could say more, but all I really want is for you all to know that NOTES holds a special place in my life.

Hortancia Shiva
New York, N.Y.

Traditions of Convenience

NOTES: At the U.S. border the other day, the Immigration Officer looked at me and said, I don't think you qualify to be classed as an Indian because I don't think your blood is 50%. That got me thinking. How can my blood be 1/2-white and 1/2-red? Does the color of my skin and hair determine how I think and feel? Yet there are many Indian people who have come to think the same as this Immigration Officer. Can persons call themselves traditional when they think in the value terms of the white man? I have heard people who say they follow the Old Ways take the white man's attitude when it suits them. How can people become of one mind if they are only going to take what they like of the traditional way, and take on the white man's way when it suits their individual needs?

Keyauckauck
Hogansburg, N.Y.

Countering Racism Within Us

NOTES: The racist tendency of some of our leaders must stop. It is fine to be against white morals and society. It is also true that well-meaning and good-hearted whites have not done much to actually help, but these people must not be alienated. They can be of great help in the future. Take the whites on an individual basis. Do not condemn the whole race.

It takes more than blood to make an Indian. After all, were not some of our early leaders white or part-white by birth? Blue Jacket of the Shawnees, Quannah Parker of the Comanche to name a couple. And, after all, are not some of our greatest enemies now of Indian blood?

Scott Perez

The Curse of Racism

NOTES: My heart is troubled, so I write for advice. I am Cherokee. For several years I was married to a black man who was also part Cherokee. I have three children. I wanted to learn my language and religion and all about my people. A friend told me it would be a mistake for me to go to my people, because my children were black, not Indian.

I see the children as mine, and by rights, belong to my clan. If my husband had been a white man, there would be no problem. This is another gift from the whiteman, like whiskey and smallpox and the BIA.

How can any of us afford to look down on another dark-skinned brother just because the white man does? I feel like an exile with no place to turn. Wherever I go, I want my children to feel love and acceptance, and I wonder where that may be.

Is there any place where Indian people with black blood are seen as Indian and accepted? Are there no mixed-blood people who follow the old Indian ways? If you know of some people I can write to, please let me know. I am saddened by what I see and feel around me.

Barbara Smith
2286 Stone Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Right On, Press People!

NOTES: This comes as an official notice to all parties concerned that I hereby declare myself a Federal Disaster Area.

The Electric Indian is as of right now ending her long and heartbreaking career of being "a good patient" and "not looking like an Indian". Surely there are bigger and better things to look forward to than standing in line for pills, sweeping and mopping kitchen floors, going to Occupational Therapy promptly at one o'clock and being issued a "blue card" of your very own.

To all my people, I say this thing: Walk always in truth, for no enemy in whatever form can deny nor defeat it. We Walk In Truth — We Are Truth.

Good night for NBC News.

Madalyn
Somewhere

Waiting to Celebrate the Truth

NOTES: As a white American, I had every reason to celebrate July 4, 1976. How I would have loved taking part in the lavish New York City celebration! But even with my good fortune, I can't help thinking of the realities of this country — the frustrated, hurting, and hungry minorities. The atrocities of this government's foreign and domestic policies. The Trails of Broken Promises.

If this government could at least own up to its faults and broken treaties, that would be cause for a celebration. Now is the time to work for the truth, to pray for liberty and justice and sovereignty to all native peoples. If this country makes it to its Tricentennial, we can only pray that the truth will have been faced by then. That's a celebration I would love to see — I do so want to celebrate America!

Deirdre MacGuire
New York, N.Y.

The Spirit Within Your Politics

NOTES: I am moved by the spirit within your politics, the clarity of thought, and lack of rhetoric in your writing.

Jonathan Rose
Scarsdale, N.Y.



Step Back And Look

BROTHERS & SISTERS: How can some people say this paper is too radical and biased? They don't understand the Indian ways. They never lived like the Indian People, watching the white man take what is ours. When a white man fights for some cause he feels is right, they put him in jail for a month or two, but when a red man does the same, they put him in prison and throw the keys away. Brothers and sisters, I ask you to step back and look at who's going to prisons and who ain't, who runs all the big businesses and who ain't? I'm glad we got this paper because we'll understand our people better and our Ways once again.

Fred Thompson 28900
Box B
St. Cloud, Minnesota 56301

Shun Paper Warriors

NOTES: I found a copy of the paper in a trash can while serving time. So you can see your paper — I mean our paper — is strong.

I am writing this letter with a lot of hurt in my heart — hurt for all the many wrongs done to our people. I am a Flathead. My People were pushed out of the beautiful Bitterroot Valley up towards Montana, but that's all in the past. In order to survive in these troubled times, we have not only to forget, but forgive. AIM might not agree with this, but it is the only way. We can't make it to the Happy Hunting Grounds with hate in our hearts.

For those who are in prison — you are the ones I respect the most, not the "paper warriors" who complain about everything on paper, but who are not willing to stand up for other rights. I too have been locked up many times — that's why I'm not going to sign this for fear I may lose my freedom again. The FBI is doing so much wrong to us — it's just not safe to even wear an AIM patch on your coat these days.

A Native of this Country
Klamath Falls, Oregon

Outside Help Needed for Big Mac

NOTES: I enjoy reading the paper because of the educational and enlightening news you have to offer. I have read where other Indians in different penal institutions are experiencing difficulties concerning Indian Cultural Groups, and where they were given outside moral and legal support in getting these difficulties eliminated.

Therefore, I write this letter for the purpose of gaining the same type of moral and legal support from you people out there beyond these "Ancient Reservation Walls."

We, as Indians here at Oklahoma State Penitentiary are experiencing difficulties with the Administration in organizing an Indian organization to help ourselves. We would like to preserve our cultural and spiritual beliefs as Indians instead of being "Model Indian Citizens".

I have seen here where they let the inmates, whites and blacks, have Junior Chamber of Commerce, Black Muslim Group, but no Indian group. We had a "United Indian Movement" group here at one time, but for some reason, the administration here has split all of us Indians up within this prison. We are being harassed, locked in solitary confinement for hearsay rumors, or any type of petty thing they can use to keep us separated from each other.

Many of us have written to different outside organizations for moral and legal support — but so far, nothing has been done to aid our efforts here. I wonder at times just what are those people out there doing, other than just reading about "societal problems".

I hope you readers out there understand the problems we are facing here. I am asking for help and any suggestions from you readers out there about how we can have the right to wear long hair, to practice our religious beliefs, and to help one another while incarcerated here. Your gesture of human kindness and interest in this matter would be deeply appreciated.

Frederick M. Ahhaitty 89503
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501
also signed by
Titus Big Goose 91439
and C. Toppah Yellowhair 90379

A Smile From Mike Sturdevant

NOTES: I write to you from the prison at Waupun, Wisconsin — so far I have 3 months in on an eight-year sentence. We have a 'skin population here of about 40. As I met different ones while trucking about the institution, I was always greeted with a smile or a grin. A smile on a brother's face told me something — it said, "Brother! How are you today? I hope you are well. They think they have changed us. As I smile, let me show you that they have not imprisoned our minds nor our Spirit."

Those smiles on my brothers' faces really told me a lot.

My mind remembers some things I had learned when I went to school. I recall how in experiments using bells and electrical shocks, white rats were trained. At a given time the bell was rung, the rat was fed. At other signals, an electric shock was given. In the course of time, this rat was "conditioned" to respond to bells or to avoid other signals.

You know, here at Waupun they have bells also that are rung to announce meals. Bells to announce group movement. Any unacceptable movement by inmates is dealt with in terms of disciplinary action. The effect is not unlike the electric shock. At school, they used white rats. At Waupun, they use us.

But unlike the white rat, the inmates resist the psychological effect of the disciplinary measures. Not too long ago, we had a riot here — 14 hostages taken. One of the complaints was about the inhuman treatment given the inmates. So all the "mind conditioning" effects of the prison personnel proves useless. Yet they continue such measures.

Some brothers involved with the riot were promised amnesty for their actions in return for the release of the hostages. The brothers are now suffering the disciplinary measures that prevail in the "green house" — no amnesty for our Indian Brothers.

I notice in **NOTES** that many inmates request correspondence. Someone should write to them. For the Indian, the struggle for survival continues in the alien world of the white man. For the Warriors here, the battles are greater. You see, these prisons are merely a manifestation of the white man's diseased mind. All the evils of his ways are manifested here. We must fight against some uneven odds here.

We have only our minds and spirits as weapons.

I know we have some good people out there — I would like to ask them to write letters to the brothers and sisters in prison all across this land of ours. It only costs 13 cents and a little time to help a brother or sister resist the mind conditioning they put us through.

As for me, I'm content just knowing my relatives and friends remember us all in their prayer services. In every Native American Church service I've ever attended, the inmates of institutions and hospitals were always remembered with words to our Creator. I take it for granted that my relatives of the 'Big Drum' pray for all of us also.

Of all the people I would like to correspond with, I'd choose my Ma. My Dad is gone, but I have to smile as I think of my Ma — she never learned how to write!

In closing, I wish you all a smile for your face, good thoughts for your mind, and a long life. Smile when you put your paper together — your readers will smile too!

Mike Sturdevant
POBox C
Waupun, Wisconsin 53963

[Mike Sturdevant was the leader of the Menominee Warrior Society in the takeover of the Alexian novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin, in January, 1975. The Editors.]

Hassles Continue at Kansas Pen

BROTHERS & SISTERS: We Indian Brothers belonging to the American Indian Culture Group of Kansas State Prison see our guests no longer come in, and since they can't harass our guests, they harass us. We are locked up for nothing. Our chairman, Jr. Wishteyan, our treasurer Duke Shopteese, Francis Jessepe, Dennis Hoffman and Louie Masquat are locked up now.

I realize the white people look down on us for what we are, but they are getting out of hand and I would appreciate it very much if you could give us a little support.

Duke Shopteese 6710
POBox 2
Lansing, Kansas 66043

Uniting Is Not An Easy Road

NOTES: I have been receiving your words of wisdom for two years now, and I feel it is time for me to say thank you for opening my eyes and keeping them awake. I am a prisoner, and reading the letters from prison cells has given me the strength to better understand some of the problems we are now experiencing. Outside support for groups such as ours is a problem throughout the system.

I have read the words "unite — come together" but I have not yet seen a direction for uniting. I would like to study this problem, and I give the following as a base structure: let's form a grand council of all nations, bands, tribes, and even individuals. Anyone interested to give an opinion please write. Coming together is not an easy road.

Donald Solomon 66564
Auburn State Prison
135 State St.
Auburn, New York 13021

The Search For The Vanguard

NOTES: We have looked at the efforts and determinations of other revolutionary groups, and found our present revolutionary movement extremely lacking in many things. The nature of our people's socio-political consciousness is like all those nations before us, a product of our times, the past, and our leaders. The need for a proper working socio-political ideology is both necessary and right, considering the times and the nature of our struggle.

The importance and the need of a vanguard, the correct vanguard element, is necessary before any struggle can ever hope for positive results. There are many different kinds of leadership, as well as a multitude of different avenues of expression. The ability to choose the proper strategy, and to select the right avenues of expression according to the given situation, is what points out an individual or a select group as unique and in possession of the vanguard nature.

As we have seen in the past, there are many people who are capable of leadership, but, I ask, have we produced from our nation of Indian People the unique and impeccable vanguard element? We so desperately need that to secure our nations' best position socially, politically, and economically.

Our nation of Indian people possesses the necessary determination and strength in movement. Yet, judging from my experience, we as a nation of people are not near to our impeccable best. It seems we lack a definite direction, and are unsure of our purpose. What drive we do possess, we cannot utilize, because we can't seem to find the correct avenue of expression. This is, of course, in no way the fault of the people. This condition only points out our need for the right vanguard element. It is the job of the leaders to stimulate and agitate the masses into activity. Should any revolutionary movement fail, it is not the fault of the people, but the fault lies in the vanguard element.

But then, considering the times and our people's past, we are not doing so bad in terms of a social awakening. My people, the Kiowas, have not yet been successfully assimilated into this American dream, into the system. Yes, there are some who have made the change, but then we have only been released as prisoners of war from the Fort Sill Reservation for less than a hundred years now.

The odds are not in our favor. Thus we must compensate, through our own efforts and by our own means.

We did see some very positive results in the Native American cultural movement in our young people. It served to instill cultural awareness, and a new sense of pride in our people's heritage. It gave them something to identify with, something outside of this American dream. The importance of cultivating and directing the momentum of such a dream should be one of the main concerns of the vanguard element. By neutralizing the Great American Dream, by creating and giving rise to an equally powerful and opposing force, will put it in check, and it will have lost its power to influence, by losing its position as the only dream of the people, and the brainwash and social conditioning of our people will soon come to an end.



The only worthwhile results are the direct outcome of an impeccable strategy, based upon the ideology of a unique social order, and in this case, it should be the native American social order. Many Indians could not relate to the whole of the American Indian Movement — they could only relate to certain aspects, such as the warrior aspect, the violence and the gun, and there were those who could only relate to the cultural aspect. But few, if any, could relate to the socio-political aspect of the movement.

Perhaps the disgust and wrong impression of AIM is just the result of some Oklahoma chapters. I felt disappointment when I went to AIM meetings with the impression that I would hear some unique revolutionary strategy and some sharp socio-political speeches. I was very disappointed when I heard the same old grind. What they are saying today, they were saying yesterday and the day before. The consciousness of the people was not raised, as I had hoped.

But we must not let our opinions and impressions alienate us from our people's struggle. We must not voice our conflicting opinions in public or introduce alien ideas which would cause negative reactions and dissension within our people. We must instead build the ideology of the movement around the needs of the people, and seek to maintain a united front in public. We can only hope for the best, and that an impeccable vanguard element will soon manifest who will possess the necessary socio-political ideology and the right amount of revolutionary strategy to bring fear into the hearts of our oppressors.

Cornell Toppah Yellowhair 90379
Oklahoma State Penitentiary
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

The Dual System of Injustice

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I am a political prisoner here in the South Dakota State Pen. I have fought against the injustice that my people and me were face to face with. I have been behind the Iron Door for 27 months now because of the "Dual System of Injustice".

I don't know nothing about the white man's law. My efforts have failed. Is there anything else I can do? I have been through the state courts and federal courts — got denied every time.

My mother, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, is being put through what no mother or woman should be put through. She gave two sons — Wesley and Verlyn — back to Mother Earth. She gave part of her life to the walls of prison all because of a racist society and injustice. But still the racist parasites want more.

As a warrior, I will die standing on my feet. I will fight not for myself, but for my two brothers [each of whom were killed by white men], and for all Brothers and Sisters on the streets, for the old, young, and unborn.

I'm in the Hole now. They try to break my spirit, but they never will. Soon the racist society will see no matter what stupid act he tries, the red man will stand above him and his stupidity. It is his inability to comprehend the meaning of justice that is losing him respect and support.

Let us know what is happening — the Brothers here are together and strong.

Vincent Bad Heart Bull
POBox 911
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101



From Alcohol to Rebirth

BROTHERS & SISTERS: From the time I was a young boy, I became addicted to the Honyo's disease, Alcohol, and it made me powerless. It has caused me to do bad things I wouldn't even think or consider doing if I was of sober mind. I have brought shame on my own family and relations as well as others because of the alcohol.

And now I'm in prison because of alcohol. I expect a lot of Indians disapprove and do not like this declaration. To those who feel this way, this declaration is directed.

I have been oppressed from birth. I have been told I cannot be enrolled or have land at Cattaraugus Reservation because my mother comes from Canada, and I have been told I cannot be enrolled or have land at Six Nation's Reserve in Ohsweken because of Canadian Indian laws. I am a full blood skin, and I cannot live with my own people, the Cayugas, I am going to reclaim land for the Cayuga as my brothers and sisters of the Mohawk Nation did at Ganienkeh.

I have had a spiritual awakening, and I've been praying for the wisdom of The Peacemaker, and for strength from the Creator. I see the day when this land will be purified from the diseases the whiteman brought upon us.

William (Still Waiting) Swanson 22500
Drawer B
Stormville, New York 12582

What It's Like In Prison

NOTES: Without one thing to do but write to tell everyone how it is in this place. The officers make count. The defenses relax ... the shell opens and out comes the real thing — "the hurting, needing and wanting". You lay there thinking, with emotions boiling inside, always inside where no one can see.

It's a place where you see men you do not admire and you wonder if you are like them. A place where you strive to remain civilized, but a place where you lose ground and know it. It is a place where you forget what put you there, where you have a vague idea that you are being punished, but you aren't sure for what.

It's a place where you hear about a friend's divorce, and didn't even know he was married, where you hear about a neighbor's kid graduating from school and thought they hadn't started yet. It's a place where dreams and honest laughter are born and die because they can't be shared with anyone who cares.

This is a place where the flame of love in every man burns as long as it can, and not too low. For some, it flickers weakly, and sometimes bright, but never seems to burn long. This is a place where you learn that nobody wants you or needs you — that the outside world goes on just the same without you.

This is a place where you can go for years without the touch of a human hand, the sound of a baby's cry or a child's laughter, a dog's bark, or even just hearing a sincere kind word.

This is a place where you feel sorry for yourself, then you get disgusted with yourself for feeling sorry, and you get angry for feeling disgusted. You try changing the subject mentally, without success. You realize now just what and where this place is — the prison of body, but not of mind. You alone are capable of enslaving your mind.

George M. Heard III 138-947
POBox 69
London, Ohio 43140

The Ishis Of Many Worlds

BROTHERS & SISTERS: Several years ago, I carried a copy of "Ishi In Two Worlds" in my baggage halfway around the globe. Finally, it became the prized possession of a Sudanese medical student in Pakistan. It was already falling apart, having been borrowed by so many other Middle Eastern and African people I met on the way. They were especially eager to read the writings of American Indians.

The struggle of the native peoples of the Western Hemisphere to liberate themselves and resist further genocide is watched with keen enthusiasm and sympathy by every African and Asian of conscience. Your newspaper reminds them of the Truth.

After outright kidnapping of whole populations, genocide, and degradation, the departing colonialists left behind artificial permanent boundaries which separated, uprooted, and fragmented ethnic, cultural, and religious groups and became the cause of future dissonance — an excuse for economic and military dependence upon either the departing colonialists or their rivals. The colonialists also left behind a Native elite group in many countries who now rule to the advantage of foreign interests — a much cheaper way to govern "the colony" than sending in Foreign Legions to protect investments! Now, in the rivalries between the outgoing and incoming colonialists disguised as businessmen, only the Natives fight, get butchered, maimed, or starve to death.

Since the money for the development schemes, as well as the technical personnel to carry them out, comes mainly from the former colonial rulers or their rivals who have never seen it in their interest to protect the lives of Native Peoples anywhere, the outcome is very doubtful. Are the tragedies of Kenora, Yellowknife, and the Amazon being repeated on the banks of the Congo, the Nile and the Niger?

Unfortunately, in the Third World, people die young. The present generation has no memory of the days of outright colonialism, and imagines that the colonialists have given up. They are, therefore, easily deceived by the brightly-colored brochures, official literature, promises, etc., with which they are propagandized. The Indian Nations of the Western Hemisphere, which have had so many martyrs, and who must be ever on the alert against treachery and genocide, are now the best possible teachers for many other Third World peoples.

In about a month, I will again be among peoples of African and Asian origin, mainly from Islamic countries. AKWESASNE NOTES will be the antidote I bring them to counteract the poison in the false, flashy, superficial publications distributed to them free by the big Western corporations.

The poetry and superb articles in NOTES are exactly what every homesick Asian, Sudanese, etc., living in Europe would love to read — it will strengthen them and help them to resist the confusion in values to which the lonely non-Western intellectual expatriate often succumbs. It will help remove the illusions that can lead to their own destruction.

Unfortunately, in many African and Asian nations, the natural ways and loyalties are being forgotten — having been traded for some gaudy baubles of Western Civilization. Saddest of all has been the fate of the Nile River. The Aswan High Dam has uprooted and dispersed the Nubian Nation, ancestors of the original Egyptian people, and has submerged and destroyed their monuments, their history. Now the place is desecrated by luxury tourist hotels and amusements for foreigners. The glory that was Egypt will end in whoredom. The gain in agricultural production from the dam has been insignificant — today in Egypt, food is scarcer and more expensive than before the dam was built, and the poor are even more desperately poor.

Sabiha DeGregory
London, England

Children of Atlantis

PEOPLE: The Peoples of North America have emerged from the shadows and at a time when the industrialization of consciousness has almost destroyed our will to even retain our humanity. It is wonderful that from the Well of the Universal Mind such profound insights and deep organic awareness of the Cycle of Life is now emanating from the Ancient Tribes.

To these Wise Ones who are helping this emergence of our common spiritual destiny, I bow down in reverence. I do not respect those elements who use the native/white conflicts to stir up further hate of man against man.

The famous Black sangoma (medicine man) Credo Mutwa who lives outside Johannesburg, Africa, has just returned from a meeting with Hopi chiefs. He said they were amazed at the similar meaning of the symbols of the African Peoples and the North American Peoples. Credo Mutwa says there is only ONE CULTURE on the planet, like One Soil, on which we are all rooted like trees.

I salute you — and your work.

Karma Samten
Cape Town, South Africa



Throughout his life, George Buck advised Iroquois young people: "Go back to the Old Ways." He was known as a leader of medicine doings, as an excellent singer, and he was renown for his good sense of humor. As a follower of the traditional religious practices, George Buck had much to teach to youth of Grand River Country. He passed into the Spirit World this autumn, and characteristically, before his death, he had this to say to the young: "Go back to the Old Ways."



George
Buck,
Cayuga

Mike Rufus was a Kwaikutl from Alert Bay, British Columbia, who spent years down and out on Vancouver's skid road — and then beat the booze habit completely. But he stayed around to help others, who now remember him, walking in the cold and rainy nights with just a vest, trying to do what he could for the people. A hundred persons gathered in the Vancouver Indian Center in October for a funeral potlatch in his honor. "He was probably one of the biggest drunks on Hastings Street," said a friend, in tribute. "He admitted it himself. But he just got himself together one day and that was it. Maybe he didn't dress very well or things like that, but he was all heart. I never heard him say a bad word about anybody." And no one can say a bad word about Mike Rufus.

Waheson, or Anna Lazore, died this autumn at Akwesasne at the hand of a person she befriended. She was known by many who bought her baskets and enjoyed her conversation. Although she found her life was on a different path, she strongly supported the traditional ways and demands for the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation. Her life ended abruptly and in contrast to the gentleness with which she had lived, but through the strength she gave her children and grandchildren, she continues to support the Creation's ways still.

George Painted War Horse, 32, a Comanche known as a scholar, leader, and a believer in the Ways of his People, died after a shooting accident on September 19. He had participated in the Sun Dance and had been active in causes for his People while working on his doctorate at the University of Washington.

Annie Kudlak, 16, was born in northern Quebec, and died on a busy street in Ottawa this autumn. She had been in the city for two days, sent there by the Canadian Government to attend school. She was hit by a car as she ran, confused, across the road, where she became a casualty of more than an auto accident. She was flown home to be placed in frozen earth by her entire village.

Walter Lowenfels, one of the land's finest poets, passed on this summer at age 79. He was a faithful friend of AKWESASNE NOTES, and collaborated with NOTES in the editing of an anthology of Third and Fourth World Peoples poetry, "From the Belly of the Shark". He fought the racism of the "White Poetry Syndicate" and worked hard to aid non-white poets to get their works published. His life was a love affair with the earth on which he lived, and he will be missed by the Earth's children.

For the Saanich People, there are no more like Christopher Paul, who at 83 left for the Spirit World, one of the last brought up in the Way of his People. He had devoted much of his later life to teaching the Saanich language to children of the Tsartlip School, who must now teach it to their children. He left this spring, and now as winter comes, we continue to be moved by his strength.

Andre Reestone Cutler, a young warrior of only 17 months, born at Standing Rock, and brought from Albuquerque back home to his People, where he went on his own way October 23, leaving behind his parents, the Pretends Eagles, and his friends all over Indian Country.

To Chief Silver Cloud, whose ashes — but not his spirit — were delivered to Mother Earth in California City on October 30: Brother, as your thoughts and your goals will keep us fighting, so will they also help us win.

Josette Wahwassuck passed on October 21, and was buried in the traditional way. She was a friend to all people, and was probably the oldest active member of the American Indian Movement. She walked this earth with much love and respect, and to the earth she returned.

Irene Moore left her Oneida People on October 3 after a lifetime of working for her grandchildren, who now miss her greatly. Although their hearts are sad with her passing, her spirit will remain with the Oneida Nation, including her 30 great grandchildren. We honor her now — and all elders like her who are still with us at this time.

Frank Day, one of the last of the Maidu Nation to continue the language and tradition of his People, left us this summer. He was known as Lydamilly, or Fading Morning Star, the son of Twoboe, a leader of the Concow People. Frank Day was well-known as a painter of the Maidu world of his youth. But now that he is gone, who has learned from him to teach those yet unborn?

We'll Set the Country Ablaze

NOTES: Your paper is the best. In the last issue, there was a letter about Bretons entitled "Europe's Indians". I'd rather say "France's Indians" — and they aren't the only ones.

True enough, you have the Bretons, but you also have the French Catalonians and Basques who are fighting along with their brothers who have the Spanish nationality because of an absurd treaty between Spain and France. And you have the Occitans, people of southern France.

As I am Occitan, I can speak for them: we are living in one of the poorest areas in France. People are mostly agricultural. In summer we are invaded by tourists — wealthy French, German and American people buying our land, our old houses, and sometimes even whole villages because my people are leaving their country to find a job.

And we have been brainwashed at school — they never told us of the way our country was conquered. They never spoke of the great massacres. They never mentioned our culture. They forbade us to speak our languages. But we kept them, and we're proud of that, and we're fighting to make things change.

As Marti, one of our protest singers put it:
*Indians de totes las colors
descolonizaren la terra
quand sortirem de la reserve
fotrem lo fuoc al pais.
(Indians, whatever your color is,
We'll decolonize our land
When we'll get out of the reservation
We'll set the country ablaze.)*

I understand your fight — carry it on, and good luck.

Christine Quintle
France

A Word From "Us Half-Breeds"

NOTES: I don't know whether you are interested in alien reactions to your paper, but to us half-breeds it seems very strange, the whole focus. As Mexicans, we are very proud of La Raza — not like the Chicanos, but the easy pride of being the majority and having power and opportunity to make a mess of things in our own way without race being brought into it.

We don't, however, necessarily think of you (nor for that fact, the Chicanos) as brothers. You really come on strong — self-conscious, naive and most of all very sorry for yourself. Pity like self-pity is the most demeaning of emotions to be squandered.

Ellen Gonzalez
Bolivia

Australian Aboriginal Support

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I receive AKWESASNE NOTES and want you to know that you have the support of Aboriginal People in Australia in your fight for land rights and self-determination. Please put us in touch with other Indian groups. We wish you strength and power.

North Queensland Land Rights Committee
attn: B.J. Russell, Secretary
POBox 1429
Cairns 4870, Australia

Bundles From Britain

NOTES: Although we believe that the native peoples hold the answer to all the problems of the industrially-based societies, we believe that it is of primary concern that we help the native American peoples gain their freedom from U.S. imperialism before we start asking or looking to them for help.

We are asking people to act and give support to the struggles of native peoples just as they aided the Vietnamese, the Congolese, and the oppressed Africans in South Africa, for it is our duty to do so as human beings.

We have a working committee going here, and anyone in Britain — get in touch with us.

Terry & Beryl Lewis & friends
Support Committee for AIM
6 Woodland Road Northfield
Birmingham B31-2HS
England

Appreciated In Poland, Too

NOTES: In celebration of your 50th issue, I want to say NOTES is a Way to the Sacred Flame. Every step on this way leads us forward to profound understanding of the Mystery of Life.

For me, NOTES is a most miraculous happening. The first issue sent to me was in Late Spring, 1971 — the memory of this happy day lives still in my heart. I make a long travel across America with NOTES — from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee, over so many graves, so many mourning days, to the prisons, a travel of tears. Thank you from all my heart, all spirit forces, for involvement in the Indian life and struggle. May the Great Spirit Creator give you force for the further superhuman work — We Will Win.

Stefania Antoniewicz
Warsaw, Poland

Vibrations from Central California

I, Woodpecker Woman, have known you long
Saw you come to me as friends
On horseback
Needing my help
Learning Loving
Becoming a part of my world
But always separate within yourself.
I watched you with the knowledge,
the lessons learned
Take yet another inward turn
Forever into sadness.
Now I watch so many pass
Flowing in asphalt, metal, glass
And none of you can even see me.

Ray Shackleton /1
RD 1, Box 146
Bristol, Vermont 05443

YUCHI BRAVE
For Gene

I felt
your smell
as the room
crowded
with your flesh:

Oklahoma dust
paint upon your cheeks;
Reservation red . . .
watered by your mother's mad blood,
canceled by her curse;
Oklahoma dust . . .
rubbed into your feet,
cleaned by your mother's heritage;
Oklahoma dust . . .
your father kissed that cheek,
your father loved those feet
and painted your face bright with earth
and hung dove feathers from your hair;
Oklahoma dust . . .
blown by your winds
strangle, choke in your lungs,
gaunt arms stretched by priests,
veined legs drawn across pulpits
upon which your mother sacrificed
the beauty of your groin;
Oklahoma dust . . .
your father paints your liquid vision
in the alleys of Tulsa
where you wander with wet voices
caught in the quick of your ear;
Oklahoma dust . . .
home is for those who cannot leave.

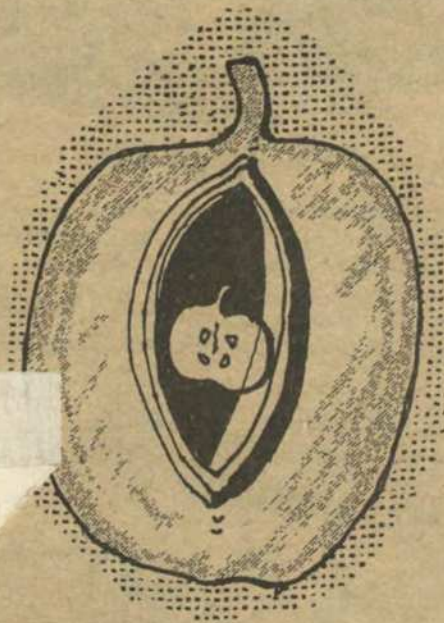
You entered
the room
with your smile
upon
my mouth.

— Maurice Kenny

CITY LIGHTS

i want you to cry
as i did at my fathers death
i want you to bend
ive squatted in tears ever since
& im not going to
give my child to you
willingly
not a hair
not an inch
not a year
but when the child
is no longer the child
& makes decisions like no child could
i'll squat in waiting
like an old-timer should
waiting in answers
for the questions beginning
grandfather ?

— Karoniaktatie
(2nd place, Scottsdale National
Indian Arts Show 1975)



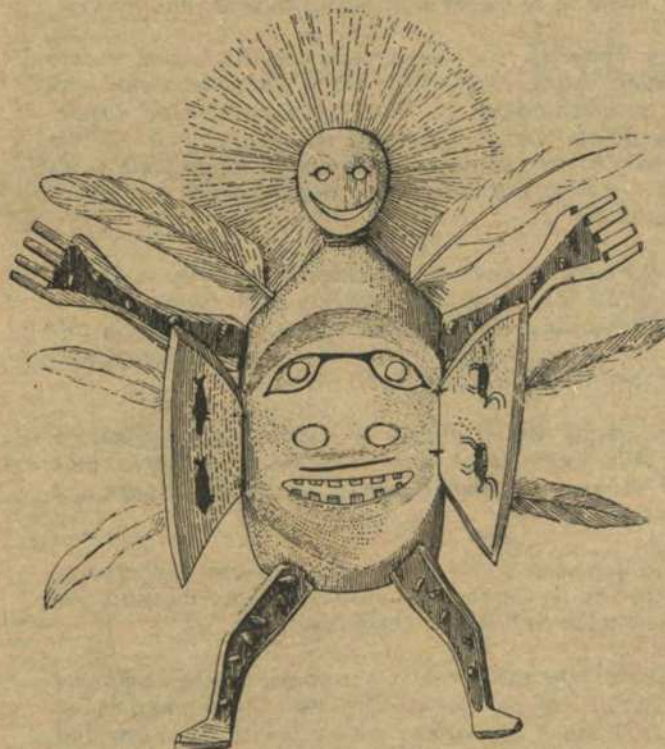
birth of an apple tree

the apple said to the seed within
swallow me
why whispered the seed
because i can't swallow you again
it is the order of things
shaking his head the seed
swallowed and swelled
full he belched
fell to the ground
& understanding
said to the earth
swallow me

— Thomas Early

I am grass growing and the shearer of grass,
I am the willow and the splitter of laths,
weaver and the thing woven, marriage of willow and grass.
I am frost on the land and the land's life,
breath and beast and the sharp rock underfoot;
in me the mountain lives, and the owl strikes,
and I in them. I am the sun's twin,
mover of blood and the blood lost,
I am the deer and the deer's death;
I am the burr in your conscience:
acknowledge me.

— Ila Abernathy



VISIONS

You think I have visions
because I am an Indian.

I have visions because
there are visions to be seen.

— Buffy Ste. Marie

FOR NELSON SMALL LEGS, JR.

A good man died —
A strong wind blew
And took his Spirit home.
The word they used was "suicide"
But now the facts are known:
Nelson Small Legs died a martyr
Killed by his own hand,
To educate The People,
He made his final stand —
To protest in a final way
The inhumanity
Of living in a white world
As an Indian not free.
Can one death break the Indians' chains
And bring about a change?
Or must we die & die & die
Till none of us remain?
We die so much already
(Hearts broken from inside)
1000 ways a day you kill us
and call it "suicide".

— Bob Bacon

My People

Speak you someone
Who knows what to say
When they come in a dream
Masked desperate angels
From the valley of a massacre.
Flames of dust rise to the clear air
And the smoke of suffocation

Clings to their stricken clothing.
Reeling with anger
To be simply told the truth,
To be simply told the truth,
They come.

— Duane Big Eagle
Xutha-tonga



Moon Strands

Deep down in the cavern made of sleep
falling silent and the fall is steep
Pictures on the walls from ancient times
long-lost words in forgotten rhymes
Ancient friends smile and call to you
singing a message and leaving a clue
How the plan began, how it will not end
like an aspen you shiver, like a willow you bend
like an eagle you hunt, like a rabbit you hide
The Moon beckons you as she breathes in the tide
sleeping, waking, growing old and growing young
All lives in one life, the secrets sing on
Where you were before brings you where you are
to circle round in the father fire of this Star
Leave the porpoise and whale to wander the ocean
if they are gone from the waves then we have lost a friend
leave the wolf and deer to live in the Sun-speckled woods
they were friends to each other long before we understood
leave the ferret to poke and sniff at holes in the ground
and with him leave the wide plains prairie dog towns
let the voices sing, leave the strand unbroken
with the Moon on your eyelids, a bond unspoken
And when you wake, you have no idea
of where you were, all you know is here
No veins of light glowing dim from the cavern walls
no shuddering of bat wings to lead you through the halls
The faces all vanish and the song makes no sound
again you worry with your eyes on the ground
But in the purple Thunder and in the gray Wind
something makes you listen beyond the din
like a flute that whistles round a sidewalk bend
like a trickle of a spring beneath the hemlock glen
like chickadees at dawn who flutter in a snow squawl
like Sundown behind a butte when coyotes call
All you know is nothing but you can glimpse a strand
like a web that glistens with dew it all is planned

— Dolly Bird